Punjab Administration Report.

1856 – 57 to 1857 – 58

GENERAL REPORT

ON THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE

PUNJAB TERRITORIES,

FROM 1856-57, TO 1857-58 INCLUSIVE;

TOGETHER WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE

DELHI TERRITORY,

FROM THE RE-OCCUPATION OF DELHI

UP TO MAY 1858.

LAHORE:

PRINTED AT THE CHRONICLE PRESS, BY KUNNIAH LALL.

1858

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS is the fourth Punjab Report. The three former reports presented the history of affairs from the year 1849 to the year 1856. The present report will carry on the story from the year 1856 to the year 1858. It will therefore comprise the terrible crisis of 1857, a period fruitful of marvels, and teeming with events of which no man can yet see the ultimate issue. The convulsions which rent Hindoostan from end to end, shook the Punjab to its very centre. And now in this report the shadow of those great events will be cast over every part of the narrative, and will impart its peculiar tone to every detail. Former reports have dealt with times of peace and success. They have shewn how the administration was formed by degrees, rapid though certain; how institutions were established; how improvements were introduced. But the present report is to deal with times of disturbance and danger. It is to shew how these institutions, so newly founded, were suddenly subjected to a crucial test; how their qualities were tried by the severest pressure. We have seen how the State ship was designed, built, rendered compact in all her parts, and fairly launched. We are now to see how she was buffeted by storms, and strained in every timber to the last degree of tension.

GENERAL REPORT

ON THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUNJAB TERRITORIES,

FOR THE YEARS 1856-57 & 1857-58.

SECTION I.

PART I.—JUDICIAL.—CIVIL JUSTICE.

2. On the principle that "inter arma silent leges," it might be supposed that during the period under report, there would be little to chronicle in the Judicial Department. But still the amount of business to be recorded will shew that despite a thousand distractions, despite dangers without and within, the judiciary remained unmoved, and the people persisted in litigation.

Civil Justice in 1856.

3. The first of the two years under review, namely 1856, was a good average year in respect to those salient points which have been treated of in former reports. Justice was brought near to the peasant's door by means of the Small Cause Courts, which despatched more than half the judicial business. The costs of suits in the aggregate were kept down at 5 per cent. on the value. The average duration of suits was being reduced below twenty days. A large proportion of the cases continued to be decided by arbitration. The Punjab Code, of brief laws and simple procedure, remained in full force. The people were bringing more and more cases before the courts, until the proportion of suits in the Punjab to the population exceeded that in any other part of the Bengal Presidency, perhaps even of all India. Towards the end of 1856, the period within which suits for bonded debts might be brought, was ordered to be reduced from 12 years to 6. It was declared that debts up to twelve years standing would not be recoverable in Court after the 1st May 1857, from which date suits would only be heard

New Statute of limitation.

within the six years term. Immediately all manner of old claims were brought forward lest they should be barred for ever. Between the 1st of January and 1st May 1857, the enormous number of 45,953 suits were instituted. From one end of the Punjab to the other, the amount of litigation was great beyond example. The courts were thronged, thousands and thousands were intent on outwitting each other in forensic controversy, when the attention was suddenly arrested by an universal shock, and the eyes of all were turned to the tremendous spectacle enacting at Delhi.

Effect of the Crisis upon Civil duties in Cis-Sutlej States.

4. The first force of the convulsion spent itself in the Cis-Sutlej States. There the minds of the governors and the governed became immediately like a surging sea. Every Judicial Officer had the most pressing duties to perform concerning the public safety. The Courts were consequently closed for months. Even if they had been kept open, they would have been deserted; for people were but too anxious to keep, if they could, what they already possessed, and cared but little at such a moment to urge their right to that which was not actually in possession. It was not till after the fall of Delhi in September, that our officers in the Thaneysur, Umballa, Loodianah, and Ferozepore Districts could resume judicial duties; and then the people, free from agitation, again began to litigate and appeal. The old energies of the judiciary revived, and by the end of December nearly all the numerous cases interrupted in the beginning of May, were finally disposed of. Notwithstanding the interregnum of five months, no less than 16,132 suits were instituted, of which our officers managed to dispose of 14,931 in the few quiet months that were left to them. During the preceding peaceful year of 1856, there were only 10,088 suits, though that number is large enough. So that actually during a year of tumult there was more business done than during the previous year of peace!

In the Trans-Sutlej States and Lahore Division.

5. The concussion of events was next felt in the Districts on the west bank of the Sutlej. These were separated from the Cis-Sutlej Districts by the Sutlej itself, and the intervention of the river in some degree stopped the progress of excitement. Recent events have indeed often proved that rivers act as non-conductors of political

electricity. In the Trans-Sutlej States (Jullundur) there is nothing very unusual perceptible in the judicial returns, except that the causes took longer in deciding, and that there were more cases pending at close of the year. The same remark will apply to the Lahore Division; but it must be remembered that in one of its Districts, Sealkote, the mutiny caused a brief interruption to business.

In Mooltan, Leia, and Jhelum Divisions.

6. In the Mooltan Division, though in the autumn there was an insurrection in one District, Googaira, which greatly agitated the Jhung District also, the number of suits decided in the year was larger than usual; and the number of suits pending at the close of the year was smaller than ever. In the returns for the Leia and Jhelum Divisions, there are no traces of the disturbances perceptible; business went on quite as well as usual; the only difference being that during the year of trouble there were *more* suits decided than in any previous year! The same result is manifest in a striking manner in Peshawur. The Peshawur valley was agitated month after month by mutinies, by rumours of mutinies, by outbreak and suppression of mutinies; its border was constantly threatened on two sides; at times it seemed likely to become a battle-field between the Christian and the Mahomedan fanatic: the people were to some extent divided among themselves; in some villages, those who were *out of* possession of property, began to think of what they would do to those *in* possession as soon as British Courts should be overthrown. Nevertheless in this very year there were *more* suits decided than usual, there were fewer cases pending at close of the year, the decisions were quicker than ever!

In Peshawur Division.

7. For the whole Territory, during the four months of crisis and trouble, the following were the suits instituted as compared with the numbers of the previous year :—

	June.	*July.*	*August.*	*September.*
1856,...	6206 ...	7899... ...	6153... ..	4056
1857,...	2977 ...	3751... ..	3519... ..	2708

Judicial business during the Crisis.

The amount of litigation, though certainly less than usual, will yet appear very considerable if the circumstances of those memorable months are considered. Dur-

ing the same months, there were 493 appeals to Superior Courts, to 686 of the corresponding period of previous year. Despite the state of public affairs then, suitors did not cease from appealing.

Classification of suits.

8. There are a few points of a general nature which now claim a few words of notice. Much stress is laid upon the classification of suits, as that gives rise to many important social considerations. The suits of the past two years may be thus classified :

	1856.	1857
Inheritance,........................	872	1974
Mortgage, &c., ...	834	1161
Marriage, betrothal, &c.,..........	1,803	1150
Debts,................................	31,687	62,409
Miscellaneous, ...	16,555	14,418
Total, ...	51,751	81,112

It is to be remembered that from this Statement suits relating to landed property are mostly excluded, as pertaining to the Revenue Department. The character of suits in matters relating to marriage, betrothal, and the like, has been described in former reports. The great number of *suits for debts,* which now form the staple of the litigation, affords cause for anxiety. The contest lies generally between the thoughtless agriculturist, and the usurious village-banker. The question is the authenticity, or otherwise, of an *account book,* which the money-lender may easily have concocted during the night before the trial. As a rule, the agriculturist is worsted. He obtains advances from the banker at harvest time, who afterwards uses the Court as an engine to exact from him more than is due. The bankers, no doubt, have undue advantage over other classes, and are very unpopular. If there had been a general insurrection in 1857, they would have been the first victims. In the Googaira emeute, the first thing the insurgents did was to seek for the bankers and burn their hated account books. While this page is being written, a riot at Madhopore, on the northern frontier, is reported ; and the rioters are said to have immediately "enquired for the bankers !" Legal measures are now being devised to check this growing litigation in regard to *bonded debts,* or suits

Suits for Debt.

founded on banker's books, and to place the borrower upon a more equal footing with the lender. In order that the scope and range of such claims might be limited, the ordinary period of limitation has been, in respect to these cases, diminished to six years. Possibly it may be reduced further, even to one year. Such a limitation would prevent much fraud, perjury, and suffering. The sale of landed property in satisfaction of these debts is here as elsewhere abhorrent to the feelings of the people. Happily such sales have been restricted in the Punjab, and instances of them are not frequent. The existing restrictions will probably be increased in future. From the events of Hindoostan, it is evident that such sales foster hatred between classes, who will tear each other to pieces directly the bonds of Civil order are loosened. In the Punjab we should profit by that warning.

Sale of land objectionable.

9. Several improvements in procedure and practice have been introduced at the instance of Mr. G. Campbell, who brought his English experience to bear on the subject. It would have been interesting to specify these, but the limits of this report do not admit of it. There is yet much to be done to render Punjab justice really cheap for all classes of suitors. On the whole aggregate of suits, the system is cheap. But amount of costs falls heavily on small causes; while on larger suits it is hardly felt at all. This defect will be remedied by a better distribution in future. It is generally considered too that the number of appeals at present allowed in the same case is excessive, and clogs the action of the Courts. Some limitation to the power of appeal is under consideration. The Tehseeldars, or Judges of our Small Cause Courts, still require much training before their investigations and decisions will be quite satisfactory.

General results of Judicial administration.

10. As regards the general result, it would be too much to say as yet that the system is really popular, and complete. Efforts are being made to discover and remedy its defects. The enormous number of causes, great and small, however, shews that unless the people had some confidence in the Courts, they would not resort to them so largely. And it may be fairly inferred from the Judicial statistics that the population generally preserved a tolerably even mind in a time of trouble.

SECTION I.

PART II.—CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

11. It might have been expected that although external order was preserved during the crisis of 1857, yet that this report would have to comprise a long catalogue of crime. But it will be seen that despite the troubled circumstances of the period, crime did not gain head in the Punjab generally, and that the action of the Criminal Courts was in no way paralyzed.

Criminal Justice in 1856.

12. The year 1856 was a good average year, marked by moderate yet certain improvement in all those respects, to which attention has been directed. The aggregate of crimes and misdemeanours in the year was less than it had ever been before, shewing in proportion to the whole population about one crime to every 302 persons. Violent and heinous crime was in 1856 less than ever. Thuggee, Infanticide, and Gang robbery were almost entirely suppressed. One-third of the value of property stolen was recovered by the Police. The increasing proportion of convictions to acquittals before the Magistrates; the proportion of convictions out of the committals to the Sessions; the time within which cases were disposed of; the brief period within which witnesses were discharged; showed an improving system.

Criminal Justice in 1857.

13. When in May 1857, the mutinies in Hindoostan broke out, compromising as they did, the peace and order of the Cis-Sutlej States, one of our most important Divisions, resulting in mutinies, disarmings, and military difficulties at all our principal stations, and especially at our frontier station of Peshawur, throughout that time indeed, there was grave doubt as to whether the course of Criminal justice could continue undisturbed. One of the first measures of the Punjab authorities was to empower the local Officers to try and punish summarily, even with death, offences affecting the public safety. Shortly afterwards there arrived from Calcutta, the Legislative Acts, authorizing such like measures being taken.

Cis-Sutlej States during the Crisis.

14. In the Cis-Sutlej States, from the 12th May, a season of open violent crime at once set in. It was impossible to prevent the contagion spreading from the adjoining Delhi and Meerut Territories, then in anarchy, if not in rebellion. Moreover, the Cis-Sutlej States were inhabited by

the very same tribes of Goojurs, Ranghurs and others, who were plundering unrestrained from Delhi Westwards. Such tribes immediately assumed the predatory habits of their forefathers. It might have been thought that half a century of Civil rule would have affected something towards eradicating such tendencies. But no, the dormant instinct of plunder revived in an instant. Few living Goojurs had seen the days of plunder spoken of in the traditions of the tribe. But now every Goojur plundered as if he had been used to it all his life. Then began robberies in broad day light in every thoroughfare, almost in every village. One village would turn out en masse to fight another. Many boundary disputes and social quarrels which had been decided fifty years before, were now renewed. The Police however stood their ground, and brought many offenders to trial. But it were vain to suppose that hundreds of heinous overt crimes did not escape notice altogether; so far from being punished, they were not even reported. The Local Officers rigorously exercised the special powers entrusted to them, and a number of summary executions had some deterring effect. Of those cases which were tried, many could not properly be classified in returns devised for peaceful times. It were hopeless to enquire the real number of crimes committed; the only fact to be certainly known is that, during this year, the Cis-Sutlej Officers, despite the difficulties with which they had to struggle, did punish 5,362 persons, of whom at least one-fourth were heinous criminals.

Crimes commited during the disturbances.

15. But this disorder did not spread across the Sutlej. The returns of Trans-Sutlej States shew the usual averages. The criminal administration in the Lahore Division was not perceptibly affected: the number of persons punished being but slightly in excess of the former year. The annual returns however do not include the punishments inflicted on those who plundered the Sealkote Cantonment after the mutiny of the troops there. In the Leia Division, removed from the scene of disturbance, there was a decrease of crime on the whole. In the Jhelum Division, there was a slight increase of crime. That Division was not, however, disturbed, except temporarily on one point by an incursion of some Rajpoots from the Hills South of Cashmeer; and in another point by a conspiracy at the Hill Sanatarium of Murree,

Crime in the Trans-Sutlej States.

Crime in the Lahore, Leia, Jhelum, and Mooltan Divisions.

and a partial rising of the tribes round that station. In Peshawur Division there was a slight decrease of crime. The reason of this was, that many a wild borderer, who would kill and rob wayfarers or members of hostile tribes, had now been enlisted in the Levies for service at home and abroad. The Mooltan Division returns cannot truly represent the real state of crime, as they exclude the offences committed during the émeute in Googaira. In September, certain tribes, dwellers in a vast wilderness mostly coverd with low jungly shrubs, who had never been under real subjection before British rule, but who since annexation had notoriously been lightly taxed and kindly treated, rose in revolt, suppressed most of the Police Posts in the interior, and threatened the Civil Station itself. The insurrection lasted some twenty days, and during that period crime of all kinds was rife. Men accustomed to steal each other's cattle covertly, now robbed in parties overtly. These robberies, however, were seldom accompanied with loss of life. The town of Kote Kumalia, in particular, was plundered.

Crime in Mooltan Division.

16. Such briefly are the main characteristics of the criminal administration during this eventful year. Though the time of all the Officers was largely occupied by urgent official duties arising from the state of affairs, yet in the criminal, as in other departments, the despatch of business was just as prompt and regular as in peaceful times ; the average duration of cases with aid of Police was 11 days, and before the Magistrate alone 6 days. The following figures will shew, that during June, July, August and September 1857, the months of crisis, the criminal business went on without any remarkable diminution as compared with the former year.

Despatch of business during the crisis.

CRIMINAL CASES DISPOSED OF IN THE PUNJAB.

	June.	*July.*	*August.*	*September.*
1856,	2,953	3,349	2,784	2,419
1857,	2,470	2,327	1,868	1,851

The statistics cannot always represent the occurrences which happened in particular places. But in the Punjab *generally*, it may truly be said, and the statistics of most Districts attest the fact, that during the crisis violent crime did *not* increase, while petty ordinary crime actually *decreased*. The people were in a subdued ferment, and amidst so much anxiety, hope, and fear, there was no leisure for

common crime. It was like the stillness of nature before the tempest.

Punishment of Mutiny and sedition.

17. The following Abstract Return will show the proceedings of the District Officers, who were generally appointed Special Commissioners under Acts XIV. and XVI. of 1857, to try men for offences endangering the public safety, or preservation of the peace; and also the punishments inflicted by the Military Tribunals upon mutineers :—

	By Military Tribunals.	By Civil Authorities.	Total.
Sentenced to Death,			
Hanged, ...	86	300	386
Shot, ...	628	1,370	1,998
Sentenced to Imprisonment, ...	245	1,226	1,471
Flogged, ...	"	1,501	1,501
Fined, ...	"	272	272
Total number punished, ...	959	4,669	5,628

SECTION I.

Part III.—Police.

Strength of Punjab Police.

18. In the last report the Police strength of the Punjab was thus exhibited :—

	Police.		*Area square miles.*
Military, ...	12,853	53,226	81,625
Civil, ...	9,123		
City, ...	1,250		
Rural, ...	30,000		Population 12,717,821.

During the most critical portion of the period under report, the Military Police rendered such important service as Native Soldiers, that they will be noticed in the Military Section hereafter. The following pages will be devoted *to the ordinary Civil Police.*

Importance of Police during the Crisis.

19. The constitution of the Punjab Police in its several heads has been described in former reports. We have seen how it was appointed, organized, equipped, trained, and disciplined, and how it worked in ordinary times. We are now to see how it acted and worked in a time of great exigency. When in May 1857, a gigantic revolt sprung up at our very threshold; when rapine and disorder were rampant in the Districts beyond our eastern border; when it was evident that there would be disturbance more or less at the principal stations of the Punjab; one of the first and most anxious questions was, how would the Police behave? Would they exhibit that cowardice and apathy for which Indian Police have been too often notorious? Would they permit emissaries of treason to pass to and fro unchallenged? Would they flinch from seizing or attacking fugitive mutineers? Would they desert their posts, if threatened or assailed by desperate criminals? Or instead of doing any of these things, would the mass of them behave with a fair degree of courage, fidelity and zeal? And would those who might have to act on stirring occasions, distinguish themselves by spirit and efficiency?

Conduct of Police in the Cis Sutlej States.

20. In the Thaneysur District, inhabited by several predatory tribes, and adjoining the Delhi Territory then partially in revolt, at a time when disturbance was rising in town and country, when village was fighting village—the headmen commanding the rural forces on either side, the regular Police stood firm throughout, and brought many prominent offenders to justice. In the Umballa District also the Police remained staunch; there indeed the people were quieter; but the neighbouring District of Saharunpore (in the N. W. P.) was much disturbed. In the Loodianah District, when two thousand armed mutineers crossed the Sutlej, and marched through the city, full of disaffected Cashmerees, when the Fort was temporarily seized, and rapine commenced, the Police held fast by the District Officer and speedily restored order. The Ferozepore Police behaved

faithfully, despite the proximity of Sirsa Territory, where British authority had been temporarily destroyed. If the position of the Cis-Sutlej States relatively to Delhi be considered, the fidelity of the regular Police during the crisis will appear remarkable. The village watchmen however, as might have been expected, were of no service in those tracts where the landholders took to plundering. In the Peshawur District, it was the Police horse whom Colonel Nicholson led on to a most successful pursuit against the mutineers of the 55th N. I. The Police were zealous in the capture of fugitive sepoys of both the 55th and 51st Regiments, and they took part in expeditions against rebel villages. In Huzara Hills, when Major Becher went to intercept the 55th fugitives, his Police did good service. On the Kohat and Bunnoo Frontiers, the Police were efficient in preserving order. In Derah Ghazee Khan District, however, when a strong party of Murrees were driving off herds of cattle, after having slain several men, the Police failed to attack; disgraced themselves by cowardice, and set a bad example to the raw Levies. When several men of the 9th Irregular Cavalry, near Kalabagh on the Indus, broke into mutiny and fled, the Police were zealous in pursuit. After the defeat of the Sealkote mutineers at the Ravee, the Police of Goordaspoor and Kangra Districts, generally, were active in seizing stragglers; though some individual members of the Police behaved badly. When the 14th mutineers at Jhelum, after a desperate resistance, were crossing the river, they were shot at by the Police. The main body of the disarmed 26th having fled from Lahore, some 500 strong, were fiercely assailed by a party of Umritsur Police, and driven on to an island in the Ravee. At the moment of the mutiny at Sealkote, the Police behaved badly. They, however, partially retrieved their character afterwards by recovering quantities of property plundered from the Cantonments. In Googaira, however, many of the Police displayed cowardice. When the revolt broke out in the District, one Police official made a disgraceful surrender of his station, and no less than 65 Policemen gave up their arms to the rebels. While Googaira was in revolt, the neighbouring Districts of Jhung and Shahpoor, and also the jungly parts of

Conduct of Police at Peshawur and on the Frontier.

Conduct of Police on various occasions of mutiny and disturbance.

Conduct of Police during emeute in Googaira District.

Lahore and Goojranwalla Districts, inhabited by the same races, and consequently ripe for disturbance, were kept in order by the Police. In the attempted disturbance round the Hill Sanatarium of Murree, the Police stood firm. These instances (in which the good predominates over the bad) will give an idea of the mettle of the Punjabee Police, and will shew that they are men with some pluck about them, and are really fit for something in an emergency.

21. Immediately after learning of our disasters at Meerut and Delhi, the authorities began to entertain Extra Police. Ferries were to be guarded, stations watched, roads to be patrolled, posts strengthened. The force thus gradually raised numbered 4,722 men by September 1857, costing Rupees 25,000 or £2,500 per mensem. This shews a temporary increase of 51 per cent. upon the fixed establishment of 9,123 men. The gradual restoration of public confidence after the fall of Delhi enabled the authorities to reduce the Extra Police. There were only 496 additional men on the 1st of May, 1858.

Extra Police during the Crisis.

22. The guarding of the Ferries was a matter which received the earliest attention. The five great rivers eminently favoured the Punjab Administration during the crisis. They cut off the Punjab from Hindoostán, and divided the Province into so many portions, almost like the compartments which are constructed in a ship to prevent the rush of invading water from one part to another. Strong parties of Police were posted at the principal Ferries behind breast-works for defence. Suspicious wayfarers, especially religious mendicants coming from the eastward, were stopped. The extraordinary number of these characters who were arrested in this manner, shewed how needful such precaution had become, and how numerous were the harbingers of treason. A system of Passports was summarily introduced. Then the ferry boats were all removed to the side opposite to that on which attack was expected, sometimes they were kept mid-stream. Generally the boats were moored on the left, or Eastern bank of the rivers, so as to prevent mutineers from the Punjab from crossing towards Delhi. The great object was to stop mutineers from escaping ; for the authorities well knew that these men would be destroyed if they could only be kept *inside* the Punjab. The lesser ferries were for some months closed altogether. During the present year, however,

Guarding of Ferries.

it has been found practicable to re-open many of the minor ferries, and to lessen the guards on the principal ones.

Securing of Treasure.

23. The securing of all Treasure, then under native guards, was speedily arranged. It was evident that the possession of quantities of Treasure was acting as a temptation to the sepoys in Hindoostan to revolt. District Officers were, therefore, ordered to despatch all the spare cash they had to places where European guards might be available, reserving only the minimum sufficient for current expences. And at the principal stations where the European troops were present, the treasure was deposited in some fortified place. The only losses of Treasure occurred at Kussowlie, when the Goorkhas mutinied, and at Sealkote when the troops broke out. The total loss, however, did not exceed one lakh of Rupees, or 10,000£. At Loodianah and Googaira, despite disturbances, the Treasuries were saved.

Surveillance of the Native Press.

24. The Native Press lost little time in manifesting a bad spirit. But the authorities were no less quick in applying a remedy. It was evident that the vernacular newspapers were about, if unchecked, to become the organs of treason. With one exception, the Editors were Hindoostanees. So a strict, though judicious, censorship was established over every one of them by means of the District Officers. At Peshawur, one native Editor was imprisoned, one Press was stopped at Sealkote, and one at Mooltan. The censorship is still maintained over those Native Presses which remain.

Opening of seditious letters.

25. The danger of sedition being diffused through the medium of the Post Office was obvious, and all letters addressed to sepoys were opened at the principal stations. Thousands of other vernacular letters were also inspected, and at many stations the Magistrate became the Post Master. The correspondence shewed but too well how necessary this precaution was. The number of seditious letters thus discovered was alarmingly great. The treason was generally couched in figurative and enigmatical phrases. A strange interest attached to those revelations as shewing what the natives really said of us among themselves at that juncture. It was abundantly manifest that the sepoys and others really did believe that we intended to destroy their caste by vari-

ous devices, of which the impure cartridge was one ; that the embers of Mahomedan fanaticism had again began to glow, and that we were observed to be but a mere handful of whites amidst a vast population of Asiatics. These things often before imagined, in regard to natives, were now veritably seen under their own hand in letters never intended for European eye.

Conduct of Hindoostanees in the Punjab.

26. The deportation of Hindoostanees from the Punjab was another special measure. The Hindoostanees in the Punjab were bound to us by many ties. We had brought them with us into this, to them, foreign province, and placed half its patronage at their disposal. More skilled in service than Punjabees, they were largely and profitably engaged in every kind of occupation and profession throughout the Punjab. In the various administrative branches many of the best appointments had fallen to them, and there was an admixture of them even in the Police. It might have been hoped that, removed from the immediate influence of Hindoostan, they would behave as well as the Punjabees. But no, wherever they were employed, they shewed a tendency to intrigue against us. There were many excellent instances to the contrary, no doubt, but such was the general rule. There is no proved case of treason on the part of Hindoostanee Officials of the highest rank, but more than one was suspected. It is remarkable that there were 4 cases of Subordinate Native Medical Officers turning traitors. At Sealkote, the Native private servants for the most part behaved infamously at the time of the mutiny. At Murree, there was strong suspicion against the private servants also. Again, our stations swarmed with hangers on and camp followers, who, though brought up, and nourished by us, would be the first to lift up the hand against European life and property. The Hindoostanee officials were, therefore, weeded out of the various branches of the public service. And large numbers of unemployed Hindoostanees were sent down country in caravans. Some 2,500 persons were thus deported from Lahore alone during 1857.

Disarming of people in Cis and Trans-Sutlej States.

27. As is well known, the Punjab Proper (except in Trans-Indus Territory, where the *carrying* of arms only had been prohibited) had been disarmed. It was superfluous to point out how fortunate that circumstance was at this crisis. No sooner had the storm of events somewhat

subsided, then it was resolved to extend that measure to the Cis and Trans-Sutlej States. In these Districts, 69,00 0 stand of arms were delivered up without a murmur. The only tract not yet disarmed is the Hill Region of Kangra and Simla. The Hindoostanee people in the bazaars of Military Cantonments in the Punjab had been allowed to keep arms heretofore. These were now disarmed, while the crisis was at its height. Subsequently the license system has been enforced with the vendors of fire arms and percussion caps at European stations. In order to prevent the possibility of illicit manufacture of gunpowder, restrictions have been placed upon the production, use, and possession of sulphur and saltpetre. The use of iron-bound clubs is now also prohibited. In Googaira, the drums with which the rebels used to sound the assembly, and collect their forces in the wilderness, have now been all seized. It were vain to say that there are no concealed arms in the Punjab : indeed when levies came gradually to be raised, recruits would occasionally produce arms in a somewhat unexpected manner!

Scarcity of arms in the Punjab.

But still the people really are, for the most part, without arms. The Googaira rebels had only clubs ; the few arms they had were, dug out of hiding places in the ground, or procured from independent Territory, or seized from our own Policemen.

Rebels made to pay the value of plundered or damaged property.

28. The principle of recovering the value of plundered property from the plunderers, has been strictly carried out. At Loodianah, the rioters ransacked the American Presbyterian Mission premises. The value was recovered to the last farthing from the offending City. At Sealkote, the villagers prowled about the Cantonment abandoned by the mutineers, and took what they could find. The value of this was exacted. It is just to add, however, that the people of one village protected the mission houses from plunder. In Googaira, where whole tribes had plundered towns, people, and traders, general subscriptions were levied. Those pastoral insurgents, who could not pay in cash, were made to pay in cattle. Many thousands of bullocks and buffaloes belonging to rebels have been sent down to Mooltan, or brought to Lahore for sale. The tribes were also made to pay for all damage done to public buildings, for the Extra Police rendered necessary by their misconduct, and for the cutting of military roads through their own jungles. The entire sum realised from

the Googaira people, amounts to exactly 5½ lakhs of Rs. or £55,000. Thus it is that rebels are made to *pay* for rebellion!

Police Posts fortified.

29. The Police Posts were from the first so constructed as to be defensible. In many cases, however, the defences have been added to. Our Treasuries were already little Forts, and nothing was required for them.* Our caravan serais are now to be rendered more defensible. In one of these, near Mooltan, a part of the 1st Irregular Cavalry, under Major Crawford Chamberlain, held out against a large body of rebels. It is proposed to keep muskets only at the principal Police Stations; and to discontinue arming the Police generally with this weapon, especially when they are in small parties at isolated Posts. The musket is not the weapon best suited for a Policeman. If he is overpowered, it falls into the hands of the enemy, who thus obtains the very thing which he otherwise would not have.

Co-operation of the people in the capture of mutineers.

30. Lastly, in their relation to the Police, the Punjab population, *so far as external acts go*, have behaved well. They have always co-operated in the extirpation of mutineers. It is understood that any Punjabee who shall give up a refugee sepoy shall receive 50 Rs. reward, and *shall be entitled to any property that may be found on the person of the prisoner*. The effect of this rule is such, that as soon as the beaten mutineer emerges from the Cantonment into the country, he finds himself among a nation of enemies. In the hilly District of Noorpoor; on the banks of the Ravee and the Jhelum; in the fastnesses of Huzara; in the valley of Peshawur; on the sandy plains of Leia, the country people have mustered with their *posse comitatus*, and joined the hue and cry against mutineers. In the Cis-Sutlej States, however, the people of all classes evinced a great disinclination to seize and deliver up mutineers and rebels; but this proceeded probably from prejudices of caste, rather than from disaffection. There has been no popular rising, except an insurrection in the jungles of Googaira, and an attempt at disturbance in the Murree Hills. In the Thanseysur District, adjoining the Delhi Territory, there was much petty disturbance, no doubt, but still no actual insurrection. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that in

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Note.—* Here and there a well had to be dug inside these Treasuries, but most of them had wells before.

the Cis-Sutlej States, a stream of convoys was running for months along two hundred miles of Grand Trunk Road, with unavoidably insufficient escort, and that not a waggon was plundered, nor a beast of burden stolen, nor a rupee of treasure lost. In the Jhelum District, the villagers themselves furnished escort to convey Treasure to Head Quarters. Except in the Cis-Sutlej States, there has been no unusual amount of violent crime, no dacoitee, no thuggee. Even infanticide is yielding; scores of high-born girls are known and officially reported to be living, who, but for British, would have perished in infancy. At our instance Chiefs have within this very year abandoned the practice of feasting troops of mendicants at weddings.

Orderly general conduct of the people.

31. Such are the main facts of the *outward* conduct of the people during this period of trial, which it is but just to record in their favour. What their *inward sentiments may have been*, and whether their loyalty could be depended on, *beyond a certain point*, is a different question, which will be briefly noticed at the conclusion of this Report.

SECTION I.

Part IV.—Jails.

32. During 1856, the system of the Punjab Jails was sustained in respect to those improvements, which have been dwelt upon in former Reports. The number of Prisoners was 12,469, just about the number which had been calculated as likely to accrue under the operation of our present Criminal Laws. The cost of their maintenance was Rs. 4,08,100, or £40,810, or Rs. 32-11-0, or £3-5-0 per head, quite as low an average as can be attained in any part of the Bengal Presidency. The mortality was indeed 10 per cent. against 5 per cent. of the previous year, but the excess had been caused by cholera at Lahore, and scurvy at Dhurmsala. The labour system being entirely intramural, some Rs. 21,942, or £2,194, were produced from Prison manufactures, the articles including every variety, Tents, Rugs, Carpets, Scarfs, Cashmeer Shawls, Lithographic printing, country Paper and many others. As regards moral discipline, several Prisoners were released during the year for good behaviour, and 5,665 were under instruction; a cer-

Jail Administration during 1856.

tain portion were also periodically subjected to solitary confinement. There had not been a single emeute during the year, and only 5 successful escapes out of so large a body of Prisoners.

Guarding of the Jails during the Crisis of 1857.

33. The memorable events of May 1857 rendered attention and energy doubly necessary, in order to preserve the system, above described. Seeing that in Hindoostan one of the first things which the rioters always did was to burst open the Jail (that event being in their view second in importance only to the plundering of the Treasury), the Punjab authorities turned anxious eyes towards their Jails. Some Jails were guarded by Hindoostanee sepoys of the Line; these were at once removed. But most Jails were guarded by means of the Punjabee Police Battalions. Unfortunately, these trusty and efficient men were, in many places, transferred to Military Cantonments to do the duty of mutinous or disarmed sepoys. The Jails would then be guarded at first by Civil Policemen who generally behaved remarkably well, and afterwards by the new Levies, as these were organized. At the important Jail of Peshawur, a score of rustics from the valley and wild men from the Hills, all newly caught and trained, stood for months as sentries over some 500 desperate prisoners of their own tribes, or else equally desperate traitors from Hindoostan. But still all over the country, even with these expedients, the work was done. In most Jails escapes were almost as rare as ever. For all the Jails (three being excluded, in which special events happened), out of a body of about 12,000 Prisoners, there were only 12 successful escapes. The three Jails alluded to above, are Loodianah, Sealkote and Googaira. At Loodianah, the Jullunder mutineers passing through the place, broke open the Jail on the 9th June, released 297 Prisoners, of whom 174 were re-captured within the year. At Sealkote, the mutineers on the 9th July, broke open the Jail, partly with the connivance of the Police guard, (the only instance of such misbehaviour) released 366 Prisoners, of whom 153 were re-captured. At Googaira, on the 26th July, the Prisoners, with the treacherous aid of one of the guards, very nearly broke Jail "en masse," but the guards were firm; 17 were shot in the fray, 33 wounded, 18 only escaped in the darkness of the night. The rising was confined to the Mahomedan Prisoners, the Hindoos remained in their cells. The conspirators had intended to burn and

Breaking open of Loodianah, and Sealkote Jails.

Attempted disturbances in Googaira and Thaneysur Jails.

plunder the station, and apparently reckoned on aid from without. At Thaneysur, a conspiracy on the part of a large predatory tribe to break open the Jail, was discovered in time; and the Magistrate spent many anxious nights within the precincts of the Prison.

General state of Punjab Jails.

34. But despite all these anxieties, system was not forgotten. The cost of each Prisoner has still been low, only Rupees 32, or £ 3-4-0, while the value of Prison manufacture sold to the public, amounted to Rupees 27,812, or £ 2,781; among the articles manufactured for Government were 80,000 *Enfield cartridges made by convict mutineers*, and also thousands of sand bags for the siege of Delhi, together with a quantity of Commissariat Gear and Tents for European troops. The mortality was less than 7 per cent. 1126 Prisoners were released before their terms, either for good behaviour, or on payment of a fine. It is to be regretted, however, that little progress was made with the carrying out of solitary confinement, and none with the instruction of the Prisoners. There is still much to be done before entire uniformity will be secured. There are still many Jails that do not sufficiently conform to rules, and some irregularity of management exists. For additional defence, two extra watch-towers have been ordered for each Jail, and *works* have been erected to strengthen the gateways.

35. To the Inspector, Doctor Charles Hathaway, a large portion of these results is due. Having during a time of peace helped to establish a complete Jail system (which is fully detailed in the Manual he has compiled), he upheld it during a period of trouble. For months during the crisis he slept at the Central Jail, at Lahore. That Jail had 2,000 of the worst Prisoners, and was from its position exposed to attack if the four disarmed Regiments should rise. But it was kept perfectly quiet.

SECTION II.

PART. I.—LAND TAX.

36. The Land Revenue system existing in the Punjab, was fully described in the last Report. We are now to see how that system worked during the past two years 1856-57, and 1857-58.

37. In that system a prominent feature was the frequent and repeated reduction of the assessed Land Tax. For reasons previously explained, the agriculturists cannot get good prices for their abundant produce, wherewith to pay up their Revenue, so there is nothing for it, but to lower the demand. It often happens, that no sooner has an assessment been elaborately calculated, then it has to be altered; no sooner have engagements been entered into with the people for terms of years, then they have to be broken. All this may be discouraging, and even detrimental to system. But it must be done, for the circumstances are peculiar, and the good of the people is paramount to every other consideration. And viewed by the light of recent events this policy has proved most fortunate. There are many Officers now in the Punjab, who can remember how, in 1851-52, when prices of agricultural produce first fell fifty per cent., large bodies of landholders in some districts tumultuously crowded round the Revenue authorities, and violently declared, that the markets were overstocked with grain, and that money could not be got in return for produce. At that moment, a temporary derangement of the Land Tax, from causes beyond the control of any Government, created a strong excitement in some localities. Now it is evident that had such circumstances existed at the commencement of the crisis in 1857, our difficulties would have been grievously aggravated, and perhaps in some places insurrection might have occurred. But in 1852, the Government, though it could not relieve agricultural distress, could yet reduce the Land Tax; and that it did at once. That policy of reduction having been consistently followed for five years, the reward was reaped when the day of trial came. For then the agricultural classes were comfortable and quiet; none were pinched in circumstances; none were looking forward to change. In the last Report it was shewn how, at different times, 23½ laks of Rupees, or 2,35,000£ had been abated from the Land Tax; still further abatement was, however, made during the period under report, for the demand, which in 1856-57 stood at 1,48,46,122 Rupees, or 14,84,612£, fell in 1857-58 to 1,46,51,066 Rupees, or 14,65,106£. But owing to fresh lands coming under assessment, (owing to lapses and resumptions) the collections scarcely varied in the aggregate, as will be thus seen. Land Tax collected, 1856-57, Rs. 1,45,18,915

Frequent reduction of the Land Tax.

Policy of reducing the Tax.

Demand and collections.

or 14,51,891£ ; 1857-58, Rs. 1,45,16,032, or 14,51,603£. It is evident then that throughout the year of trouble, the Land Tax was realized as usual. It is probable that still further reductions will have to be made in some places, before the assessment will have approached finality.

Realization of Land Revenue during the Crisis.

38. Indeed, the willingness and punctuality with which the landholders paid up their Revenue for the instalments which fell due just as the crisis set in, is not only shewn by the public records and accounts, but is also testified to by all the European Officials who were present at the time. In some places, owing to the critical circumstances of the time, the Revenue was collected even before the date on which the instalments fell due. This was affected without the least difficulty, and indeed with the consent of the people. Even in the Cis-Sutlej States, extensively disturbed in a manner described in the previous chapter, the Revenue was collected with at least ordinary regularity. In that Territory, a delay in payment on part of one village, was justly held to be a symptom of rebellion, and instant measures were taken accordingly. Even on the turbulent Peshawur Frontier, the Revenue was withheld by only two villages, and to them armed force was applied. These exceptional instances of recusancy, however, arose from instigation by our enemies beyond the border. In the southern part of the Jhelum Division, there were a set of villages who spoke of withholding payment ; but an indirect demonstration of force sufficed to bring them to their senses. In the Googaira District, and the Hills around Murree, there was considerable disturbance during the autumn ; but still the instalments, falling due two months afterwards, were collected to the last Rupee.

Demand realized all but a fraction.

It will have been seen already that the difference between the demand and collection amounts to only Rs. 5,57,749, but of this the greater portion is nominal only, or capable of remission under the standing Rules, being occasioned by damage done to land from action of rivers, or casual disaster, and the like ; or consisting of reductions of assessment made within the year, or incorrect entries in the rent roll of the year. The real uncollected balance amounts to less than one per cent. on the total Revenue. And thus 99 per cent. was collected during the crisis without any particular resort to coercive process. During 1857-58,

there was no sale, there were only 3 in 1856-57; and in 1857-58, only 7 farms and transfers to 14 in the former year. Imprisonment of defaulters was scarcely ever resorted to, and even common notices to pay had not to be served in greater numbers than usual.

Reasons of contentment of agriculturists.

39. The main cause of this fortunate result, no doubt, was that the people are always ready to pay Revenue to the Power that is, and that despite our reverses, they still considered us to be that power. As already explained, the Land Tax was light; there was no particular grievance to complain of in our Revenue system; the tenures had been fairly adjusted; there was no class, among the landholders and cultivators at least, who had suffered by British Rule; there were no dispossessed malcontents; no depressed village communities; no upstart usurpers over the heritage of others, through the operation of our laws; there had been no wholesale, or extensive transfers of estates or tracts from one set to another; there had been some unfortunate transfers of individual properties, but such cases were exceptional among the agriculturists at least. Thus it befell that no one had reason to hope for benefit by a change of rulers; and so long as we were at all able to assert authority, most agriculturists were quite willing to pay tribute to Cæsar. It were vain from such facts to assume the existence of any active heartfelt loyalty. But at all events, there existed no feeling against us; there was a kind of passive sentiment in our favor among the masses. The best Revenue administration will not secure much more than this; but recent events have shewn that to secure even this much, is great gain. Moreover, at that juncture there was an unusual degree of prosperity. The spring and autumn harvests of 1856, had not been abundant; there had been epidemic sickness among the people; and murrain among the cattle; in many places there had been even a scarcity of grain; and prices had generally risen, not indeed to the standard of former days, but much above the rates which had prevailed of late years. But in the spring of 1857, the harvest was excellent; sickness and murrain had abated; the markets, owing to previous deflection, were not over-stocked, and prices did not fall greatly, so that generally the agriculturist had plenty of grain which he could sell at a tolerably good price. In some few places only was there a difficulty of exporting grain owing to disturbed state of the times, which resulted in

Average prices of grain.

a slight glut of the markets, and a corresponding fall of prices. Thus on the whole, agricultural prosperity told in our favor during the crisis.

Reason why money is more plentiful among the agriculturists.

40. In former reports it was explained how the circumstance of so much money going out of the Punjab, contributed to distress the agriculturist. The native army was Hindoostanee ; to them was a large share of the Punjab Revenues disbursed, of which a part only they spent on the spot, and a part was remitted to their homes. Thus it was that year after year laks and laks of rupees were drained from the Punjab, and enriched Oude ; but within the last year, the native army being Punjabee, all such sums have been paid to them, and have been spent at home. Again, many thousands of Punjabee soldiers are serving abroad. These men not only remit their savings, but also have sent quantities of prize property and plunder, the spoils of Hindoostan, to their native villages. The effect of all this is already perceptible in the increase of agricultural capital, a freer circulation of money, and a fresh impetus to cultivation. There has, indeed, been a diminution of laboring hands to till the ground, such large numbers of husbandmen having enlisted in the army ; but this is more than compensated for by the augmentation of those means which are the sinews of agriculture as of everything else. Probably at no time since annexation, have the agriculturists of the Punjab been in such easy circumstances as they are at the present time of writing.

Regular Settlement of Land Tax.

41. The regular settlement and assessment of the Land Tax, has been progressing during the last two years in the Western and Southern parts of the Punjab. The Eastern and Central portions have been already settled, as explained in the last report. Within these two years then, in the South, the Settlement in the Googaira District has been nearly completed ; and in Mooltan, far advanced ; and in the Jhung District, completed altogether. In the Khangurh District, near the confluence of the Indus and Chenab, a summary settlement has been made, which will answer most of the purposes of a regular one.

To the west, the work has been far advanced in Jhelum ; nearly completed in Shahpoor ; and proceeded with in Rawul Pindee. There is only one District in the Punjab, (Leia) now remaining to be

brought under settlement, and some ten or eleven laks of Revenue to be regularly assessed. This is exclusive of the Trans-Indus Territory and Huzara, which it is not proposed to have regularly settled at all. In the two years, this department has assessed about 13 laks of Revenue; measured, field by field, some 42,84,000 acres, ; and disposed of a vast amount of business connected with tenures and rights in land. During the crisis, the operations were somewhat curtailed from scarcity of funds; but still they were continued. And it is to be remembered that, at a time when disturbance reached up to the very banks of the Sutlej, and when it was doubtful whether the British would exist, as rulers, long enough to see the issue of their measures, or reap the fruits of their administrative labors, there were Officers employed in various parts of the Punjab, carefully surveying estates, declaring titles to lands that were to descend to future generations, and making engagements with the people which were to last for many years! To act, as if we had no idea of being expelled, no doubt, rendered the people less likely to think of our expulsion.

Operations of the settlement during the crisis.

42.—The Miscellaneous business of the Revenue Department decreased during 1857-58, doubtless owing to the crisis. Suits between landlords and tenants, which were 19,973 in 1856-57, fell to 16,764 in 1857-58. As explained in the section of Civil Justice, the occupants of the lands, like other classes, were too intent on reading the signs of the times to think of contesting petty rights among each other. The views, already expressed under the head of Civil Justice against the alienation of landed property, have been carried out in the Revenue Department. That policy, after the warning of recent events, will be carried out more rigidly than ever; sales of land for arrears of Revenue will be confined within the narrowest possible limits; and even private alienations of land will be jealously watched. By all means, let land fetch it's value in the market, and let people sell and buy it if it be their interest to do so. But experience shews that such transactions are not frequent when people are prosperous; whenever they are frequent, we may suspect that there is either some distress capable of remedy, or some pressure of the Revenue, or some sinister influ-

Revenue business.

Alienation of land to be restricted.

ence at work. In the Khangurh District, an unusual number of these transfers was noticed, and this was found to be the result of the Land Tax pressing unduly upon some tracts. In the Goojranwalla District, some irregular transfers of proprietary rights were observed; and, as might be expected, the assessment is discovered to be too high. It is, perhaps, a significant fact that during the year of trouble, 1857-58, the advances (Tuccavee) from Government, for construction of new Wells for irrigation, and such like works, were comparatively, seldom applied for by the Agriculturists. The advances asked for, and given that year, did not equal more than half the average amount. It would seem that at such a time people were less intent than usual upon improvements of this kind. But the advances of former years were recovered in much the usual proportions.

Advances of money for Agricultural Improvement.

SECTION II.

PART II.—CUSTOMS, EXCISE AND OPIUM.

43. As explained in the last Report, there are no customs levied in the Punjab. In the excise on Spirituous Liquors, Drugs and Opium, there has been a falling off, which may be attributed solely to the mutinies and disturbances. The amount in 1856-57, stood at Rs. 5,99,393, or £59,939; and in 1857-58, at Rs. 5,04,498, or £50,450. The principal consumers of these articles are the Camp followers attached to Military Cantonments; as these persons were scattered by the mutinies, the consumption decreased. This fact shews, that the use of these articles is not (as some have supposed) increasing among the mass of the population. The above remark does not, however, apply to Opium. At one time the supply of this drug fell short, owing to the closing of communication with other parts of India, and it was feared that some distress might ensue. But a supply was eventually obtained from the Himalaya Hill Districts.

Decrease of Excise on Drugs and Spirits during the Crisis.

SECTION II.

PART III.—SALT.

44. In the last Report it was shewn that the Salt monopoly in the Punjab (whereby Government dispose of the produce of the Salt mines, at 2 Rs. or 4 shillings per maund of 82lb), does not operate injuriously

Salt Revenue in 1856-57.

to the consumer, inasmuch as consumption has doubled since British Rule. The highest figure which this Salt Revenue has reached in 1855-56, was 21 laks of Rupees, or 2,10,000£. During 1856-57, there was a falling off in the Revenue for that year, the total amounting only to Rs. 20,08,393, or £200,839. The decrease was owing to the unfavorable harvests of the year, and to the unusual sickness prevalent during the summer and autumn. Towards the end of the year, the Salt Revenue righted itself., So that, when, in the commencement of 1857-58, the crisis came on, the Salt trade was in full swing. From May to October, 1857, the months of trouble, the salt receipts ranged to a good average, and greatly exceeded those of the preceding summer. On the whole year, there has been an increase, as the total receipts amount to Rs. 20,75,000, or 207,500£. It is to be remarked that (except in the Huzara District), smuggling has almost ceased; no advantage was taken by any one of the crisis in order to smuggle.

Increase in 1857-58.

SECTION II.

PART IV.—STAMPS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

45. Under the head of miscellaneous, the only item requiring notice is that of Stamps; during 1856-57, the Stamp Revenue flourished. The notice, that the term of limitation would be reduced from 12 years to six, in cases of debt, from May 1857, as explained in the Judicial section, caused a great number of suits to be filed during the early part of 1857, and thus quantities of Stamped Paper were expended. This cause of increase ceased from the commencement of 1857-58, and at the same time litigation began to diminish, owing to the political troubles. For many months the number of suits filed was much below the average of peaceful times. For 1857-58, therefore, the Stamp Revenue shews a marked decrease. Some Districts did not obtain their supply of Stamp Paper from Calcutta, owing to the closing of the Roads. But some were supplied from Bombay, and plain paper signed and sealed by the District Officer has been used as a substitute for the regular Stamp Paper.

Falling off of Stamp Revenue during the crisis.

46. The total revenue of the two years may be exhibited as below. There is a slight decrease on the past year, but considering the special causes at work

General Revenue of the Punjab.

during that time of trouble, it is satisfactory that the Revenue approaches so closely to the usual amount :—

Year.		Land Tax.	Spirits, Drugs and Opium.	Salt.	Stamps and Miscellaneous	Total.
1856, 1857,	Rs.	1,48,46,122	5,99,393	20,08,393	18,61,664	1.93,15,572
	£	14,84,612	59,939	2,00,839	1,86,167	19,31,557
1857, 1858,	Rs.	14,5,16,032	5,04,498	20,75,278	20,87,306	1,91,83,114
	£.	14,51,603	50,450	2,07,528	2,08,730	19,18,311
Difference.	Rs.	— 3,30,090	— 94,895	+ 66,885	+ 2,25,642	— 1,32,458
	£.	— 33,009	— 9,489	+ 6,688	+ 22,564	— 13,246

SECTION III.

EDUCATION.

47. The last Report mentioned the inauguration into the Punjab, of the new system of National Education prescribed for all India, by the Home Authorities. The present Report will describe the first two years of progress with that system, that is, the years 1856-57, and 1857–58.

Supervising Establishments.

48. During 1856-57, the machinery of the Department was organized; a Director General was appointed on a salary of 1,200 Rs. per mensem; two Inspectors on 600 Rs. each for the Eastern and Western Circles respectively; 11 Deputy Inspectors, each to receive a salary from 80 to 150 Rs. per mensem, and to supervise two or more Districts; and 17 Sub-Deputy Inspectors on salaries of 20 to 60 Rs.; each District being divided into 3 or 4 Tehseels or Sub-divisions for administrative purposes. A Government school at the Head Quarters of each Tehseel was established ; some 107 schools were thus founded. The principle of arranging with the landholders to pay for Education, a sum, calculated at one per cent. on the assesed land tax was carried out everywhere in the Punjab (save in Leia and Huzara,)

without any objection being raised by the people; some Rs. 1,38,000 were collected on this account, and 456 village schools were established from this resource. Each of these schools is placed in a centrical position, so as to be accessible to the children of three or four villages. Grants in aid, to the amount of Rs. 6,970, were accepted on behalf of Mission schools in various parts of the Punjab. One Normal school was established; some four Government schools, previously existing, were taken by the new Department, and the statistics of the Indigenous Education throughout the Province were collected. Such was the commencement made during the first year.

Educational proceedings in 1856-57.

49. The second year, 1857-58, had scarcely commenced, when the disturbances in Hindoostan broke out with fury, and excitement arose more or less throughout the Punjab. The Educational Officers then resolved not to attempt the establishment of fresh village schools, until the crisis should pass over, but to concentrate all efforts for the maintenance of the Government schools set on foot during the past year. The hope, which had been entertained of establishing many hundreds of additional schools, was thus deferred for some months. But the attendance at the Government schools was kept up undiminished. During the first quarter, May, June, and July 1857, the first three months of trouble, there was actually a slight increase over the attendance of the preceding peaceful quarter. During the next quarter of August, September and October, three months of awful crisis, when the fate of the Punjab really trembled in the balance, there was a diminution of only 97 pupils on an aggregate of 4,900, which, in fact, is no perceptible diminution at all. Even in the Cis-Sutlej States which were disturbed extensively, the Government schools did not suffer. At Rawul Pindee only, near the Indus, were there any symptoms manifested of religious bigotry against the Educational arrangements. In all other places, even on the fanatical Frontier, there was no suspicion or prejudice raised on account of the schools. By November, the crisis was over past, and the establishing of additional village schools was immediately taken in hand. Nearly 700 new ones were founded by end of December. During the two last quarters of the year, perfect quiet has succeeded to excitement; consequently the system, laboriously sustained during a time

Education not affected by the troubles of 1857.

Recent progress.

of trouble, has since been expanded ; the attendance at Government schools has increased month by month ; the style of education has been improved, and the village schools extended.

Educational expenditure.

50. The educational system thus started, is, of course, still in robust infancy ; and a brief notice of some of its leading features will suffice at present.

51. The expenditure for the two years may be thus set down :—

	1856-57.		1857-58.	
	Rs.	£.	Rs.	£.
Expended by Government,..................	1,05,392=	10,539	1,44,868=	14,487
Expended from the 1 per cent. fund collected from landholders, ...	23,472=	2,347	82,263=	8,226
Total, ...	1,28,864 =	12,886	2,27,131=	22,713

The actual collections for the one per cent fund were :—In 1856-57 Rs. 1,38,044, or 13,804£ ; in 1857-58, Rs. 1,51,544, or 15,154£ ; so that there is a large unexpended balance at credit of the fund. In round numbers, the Educational income may be set down at three laks of Rupees, or 30,000£ per annum, of which half is paid by Government, and half contributed by the people.

Number of Schools and Scholars.

The number of Schools and Scholars for the two years are :—

	1856-57.		857-58	
	Schools.	Pupils.	Schools.	Pupils.
Govt. "Tehseel" Schools,..	107	6,919	110	6,953
Special Institutions, ...	15	2,254	16	1,714
One per cent. village Schools,	456	6,064	1,336	12,024
Indigenous Schools,........	5,024	30,196	3,461	26,317
Total, ...	5,602	45,433	49,23	46,C08

In round numbers then, we have something less than 50,000 boys under instruction; which number gives the proportion of one pupil to 23 of the School-going population. The number of pupils may appear small to a population of 13 millions; but a considerable increase may be expected yearly, especially in the village Schools.

52. In the Government Schools, the education consists only of the rudiments of History, Geography, Arithmetic and Grammar. But even this much is imparted with difficulty, and is a vast stride in advance of the wretched education which previously existed. The *Class* system, which is the distinguishing mark between European and Native method of teaching, is enforced. The Oordoo language, with the Persian character, is used in the Government Schools. The pupils are more than one half Hindoo. The remainder are mainly Mahomedans. Sikh pupils are not numerous. The pupils belong chiefly to the *non*-agricultural classes. There are eleven female schools, all Mahomedan. There is, of course, a great dearth of qualified teachers; but a Normal School has been established at Lahore with forty pupils and another has been commenced at Rawul Pindee. Those teachers, previously in office, who may be found deficient, are required to qualify at these institutions. The higher kinds of Government Schools have yet to be founded, and the Lahore College is postponed till the general system shall be more advanced. A Depot for School Books has been set up; and during 1857-58, some 14,139 little books were sold to the people for about 3,000 Rs., or 300 £.

Characteristics of Government Schools.

53. For the general result, the Director, Mr. W. D. Arnold, deserves every credit. He does not aim at imposing, though premature, results; but he rather strives to keep up a moderate, though sound, progress; and to secure that genuine quality in our education, which is so difficult of attainment. Among his Subordinates Lieut. E H. Paske, late Inspector of 1st Circle, deserves special mention. And in conclusion, it may be said that the fact, that popular education did not fall off during a season of danger, trouble and excitement, goes far to prove that through it, all the people preserved an even mind, and that British Rule still kept a hold upon its subjects.

Services of the Director and his Officers.

SECTION IV.

PUBLIC WORKS.

54. In former reports, the Public Works Department has had a conspicuous place; and the energy of the administration was, for several years, largely devoted to pressing the works forward. That they accordingly were considerably advanced to the great benefit of the province, is well known. But during the past two years, the funds available for these purposes, have been more limited than previously, and during the recent troublous period, all works, not of military or political urgency, were suspended for a season. On the present occasion, therefore, there is less progress to be reported than heretofore. And it will be found that the expenditure has been mainly applied for military works and for the Baree Doab Canal, while roads have been necessarily postponed till a more favourable time shall arrive. During this period of comparative rest from out-door operations, however, great progress has been made with estimates and accounts which, owing to the pressure of other work, had considerably fallen into arrears. Since the commencement of 1857-58, the new system of accounts prescribed by the Supreme Government, has been carried out in its integrity.

General scope of Public Works during the past two years.

PART I.—ROADS.

55. The state of the Grand Trunk Road from the Delhi Frontier up to Peshawur, was described in the last report. That section which runs through the Cis-Sutlej States is now nearly complete, except the bridging of the several difficult streams near Umballa. There is no chance, so far as can be seen at present, of these being spanned by permanent bridges, for which an immense sum will be needed. If they are bridged at all, it must be by temporary wooden structures. Besides these unbridged streams, there are not five miles of unmade road in the section. During the past two years, some 33 bridges of sizes, temporary or permanent, have been added. Some few miles of new road have been completed, both as regards earthwork and metal. And the new metal has been laid

Grand Trunk Road in Cis-Sutlej States.

Progress and state of the road.

down on the parts previously metalled. It was along this road that the troops, stores, and siege trains proceeded to the siege of Delhi.

Its Military importance during the Crisis.

It may be truly affirmed that, at that rainy season of the year, if there had not been this good road, if the line had been in the same condition as it was five years ago, the vast amount of materiel and munitions of war could not have reached the scene of action; and that without this road it might hardly have been possible to take Delhi, at least during the autumn of 1857! From this case, we may learn the paramount necessity of improving our means of military communication.

Roads from the Sutlej to Lahore.

56. The section of the road between the Sutlej and Beas has not been proceeded with, and continues in a very unsatisfactory state. The section from the Beas on to Lahore had been efficiently made previously; the metalling has been renewed recently. From Ferozepore to Loodiana, the road had been made throughout; its metalling is now being renovated. From Ferozepore to Lahore, the road is still unmade.

Great Road from Lahore to Peshawur.

57. With the road from Lahore on to Peshawur, no progress worth mentioning has been made during the two years. Elaborate estimates have been submitted for the many interesting works sketched in former reports. The amount required, however, 56½ laks of Rupees, would make, with the sums previously expended, the great aggregate of 121 laks, or one million and a quarter sterling. But, as expenditure of this kind is quite beyond our present means, a moderate estimate of 11 laks, or 110,000£, has been prepared, with a view to

Present State of the Line.

opening the road throughout, of rendering the work already executed available for traffic, and of bridging with temporary wooden structures, all the remaining unbridged streams, with the exception of the great rivers and two other difficult hill streams.

Road from Lahore to Mooltan.

58. The road from Lahore to Mooltan has been, from time to time, patched up with repairs; but the military transit on it during the crisis was enormous. There is little hope of effective communication being established between these important places until the Railway shall be constructed.

59. Nothing worthy of notice has been done with District roads during the two years, except in Huzara, where some 22 miles of new road have been thoroughly completed, opened out for traffic, and bridged throughout. During 1856-57, in many of the Districts, the Civil Officers opened out many miles of fair weather road, and constructed many minor bridges. But during 1857-58, owing to financial pressure, these operations were partially suspended.

District Roads.

60. During the past two years about 11½ laks of Rupees, or £115,000, have been expended on roads which, with the previous expenditure shewn in last report, will make an aggregate of 123¾ laks, or £1,237,500. But despite all that has been done and spent, the work remaining to be effected before the Punjab roads are in a proper state, is enormous. *Thousands* of expensive bridges, and many hundred miles of metalled roadway have yet to be constructed. At present most of our roads are in a crude half-finished state.

Expenditure on Punjab Roads.

Part II.—Railroads.

61. In the last report, the important reasons for immediately constructing the Railway from Umritsur to Mooltan, were urged at length. During 1856, a detailed scheme for this object was submitted to the Supreme Government. Since then, the Sindh Railway Company have been authorized by the Court of Directors to survey the line, and have obtained the requisite guarantee. It is earnestly hoped that they will commence the line during the ensuing cold season. Recent events have shewn this line to be of the highest military and political importance in respect to maintaining British Rule in the Punjab. Its southern terminus, Mooltan, is the most important point on our line of communication with the sea, and would be our last place of resort in the event of disaster.

Projected Railroad from Umritsur via Lahore to Mooltan.

Part III.—Canals and Irrigation.

62. Under this heading the principal work is the Baree Doab Canal, the object and scope of which have been described in former reports. During the past two years, efforts have been concentrated upon

The Great Baree Doab Canal.

the completion of the main line down to the point where the Lahore Branch breaks off. During 1856-57, work was vigorously prosecuted, but then suffered suspension during the months of the crisis. But during the last quarter of 1857-58, the work was resumed at its former scale. In consideration of the importance of the object in view, the Governor General relaxed the financial restriction in favour of this Canal, and permitted the previous rate of expenditure (120,000 Rs. per mensem) to continue. By these means it is hoped that by the commencement of the next year 1859, the Canal may be opened as far as the tail of the Lahore Branch, a distance of about 133 miles. Over this portion of the Canal, the excavation had been previously effected. During the two last years much progress has been made with the masonry works, bridges, escapes, falls and rapids, which in this section are numerous. The arduous works near the Canal Head, described in previous reports, have been now advanced near to completion. If the Canal shall be opened as far as Lahore by 1859, an important, economical and political result will have been attained; and the heart of the Manjha country, the home of the Sikh nation, will have been traversed by a Canal, the blessings of which will attach the people to the British Government. Complete estimates for the entire Canal down to Tolumba near Mooltan, were submitted to the Supreme Government towards the end of 1856. The total cost, including the sums already expended, was calculated at 135 laks of Rupees, or 1,350,000£. If however, the Government are not able at present to construct the whole Canal, it may suffice to finish the main line down to a point opposite Lahore, and also the branch to the capital itself, leaving the eastern branches and the lower section of the main line uncommenced. The cost of the work, limited as above, would amount to Rupees about 1,00,00,000, or one million sterling. It only remains to add that during the two past years Rs. 26,41,500 have been expended on this Canal, which, with the amount of previous expenditure, will make up a total of Rs. 77,35,000, or £773,500. The Canal works are of a superior description, and are indeed the admiration of all who see them.

Progress and prospects of the work.

Expenditure on Baree Doab Canal.

63. As regards minor Canals, the Huslee Canal has been maintained in the condition described in former reports. Various masonry works and excavations have been

Huslee Canal.

executed upon the Mooltan and Trans-Indus Inundation Canals—at a cost of Rs. 20,000, or £2,000, in the two years. But still the management of those Canals is not all that might be desired. All the native Canals in Khangurh District, near the confluence of the Indus and Chenab, have been recently cleared out.

Inundation Canals in Mooltan and Trans-Indus Districts.

PART IV.—MILITARY AND MISCELLANEOUS.

64. The principal item under this heading is that of Barracks for European troops. The spacious and commodious nature of these Barracks, and the separate Barracks for married families, have been described in the last report. It was then also shewn that these had been either completed or well advanced at all the chief stations. During 1856-57, the buildings at Peshawur, Nowshera and Rawul Pindee were well nigh completed. At Kussowlee in the Hills near Umballa, some Barracks of a novel and interesting design were advanced. During 1857-58, the Military works executed had chiefly reference to the existing crisis. Temporary Barracks for European troops were erected at Campellpore, near Attock on the Indus, at Attock itself, at Umritsur, at Mooltan. The Infantry Barracks at Umballa were added to. The fortified arsenal at Ferozepore was proceeded with, and works were added to the Forts of Attock, Umritsur and Philore. The expenditure on Military works in 1856-57, amounted to Rs. 20,75,000, and in 1857-58 to Rs. 11,40,000, in all Rs. 32,15,000, for the two years, or £321,500.

European Barracks at various stations.

Expenditure on Military works.

65. Among the miscellaneous works executed in the two years may be noticed New Offices for the central administration at Lahore; 1 new Jail; five District offices; 7 caravans—serais for accommodation of travellers, 26 Police posts, and various defences added to Police posts, and such like buildings, which had, however, been already constructed on a defensible plan. Additions have been made to the works previously constructed at the Salt Mines, for the health of the miners and the convenience of merchants. Church building is alluded to in the Ecclesiastical Section of this report

66. The expenditure for the two years may be thus exhibited :—

General expenditure on Public Works.

	1856-57.	1857-58.	Previous expenditure.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Roads, ...	6,01,408	5,51,619	1,12,24,600	1,23,77,627
Canals...	17,18,413	12,70,000	71,53,000	1,01,41,413
Miscellaneous, ...	1,74,329	71,471	26,55,000	29,00,800
Military, ...	20,75,261	11,40,976	1,14,21,000	1,46,37,237
Total, Rs.	45,69,411	30,34,066	3,24,53,600	4,00,57,077
£	456,941	303,406	32,45,360	4,00,5,707

It will be thus seen that four millions Sterling have been expended on public works in these Territories from the commencement.

67. The following Officers are commended for their exertions during the two years under report :—

Chief Engineers.

Lieutenant Colonel H. Fraser, C. B.—Lieutenant Colonel E. L. Ommanney.

Superintending Engineers.

Major J. Laughton—Major H. Rigby.

Superintendent, Lahore and Peshawur Road.

* Major A. Taylor. Major A. Robertson, (Officiating).

Superintendent, Hill Roads.

Captain D. Briggs.

Executive Officers.

† Captain Fagan, (late.)
Captain S. F. H. Davies.
Lieutenant C. Pollard.
Lieutenant W. Henderson.
Lieutenant A. W. Garnett,
Lieutenant F. S. Taylor.
Lieutenant W. S. Oliphant.

* NOTE.—Greatly distinguished during the seige of Delhi, and at taking of Lucknow city.

† Killed at Delhi.

Mr. W. Purdon.
Mr. G. Robertson.

CANAL DEPARTMENT.

Director.

Captain J. H. Dyas.

BAREE DOAB CANAL.

Superintendent.

Lieutenant J. Crofton.

Executive Engineers.

* Lieutenant D. C. Home.
Lieutenant H. W. Gulliver.
Mr. J. D. Smithe.
Mr. A. G. Crommelin.

SECTION V.

POST OFFICE.

Special postal line during disturbances in Googaira.

68. The Postal system existing in the Punjab was described in the last report, and continues the same as before. During the crisis of 1857, the only instance of Posts being cut off, occurred on the outbreak of disturbances during September in the Googaira District between Lahore and Mooltan. On that occasion an important set of despatches for the mail to Europe was lost. Immediately however, a temporary line was organized along the left bank of the Sutlej from Ferozepore through Bhawulpore Territory to Mooltan, and another line along the right bank of the Ravee was commenced. But in about 20 days the usual communication was restored. In the Cis-Sutlej States, the Post was kept up throughout, despite the troubles which arose there. And from the day that the British Camp was established before Delhi, its postal communication with the Punjab remained uninterrupted.

Posts through the Cis-Sutlej States to Delhi.

Magisterial Posts.

69. The private letters despatched by the District or Magisterial Posts, running from the Central Office of each District to the Police Offices in the interior,

* Distinguished at Delhi, afterwards killed near Meerut.

were as follows, during the two years. The decrease in 1857-58 is attributable to the disturbed state of the times :—

Year.	Total Number of covers delivered.	Total Number of covers returned undelivered.	Grand Total Number of letters sent to District Post Offices.
1856-57,	3,14,334	29,307	3,43,641
1857-58,	2,52,332	14,090	2,66,422
Decrease,	62,002	15,217	77,219

SECTION VI.

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.

Telegraphic Correspondence during the Crisis.

70. The construction of the Electric Telegraph line along the Grand Trunk Road from the Delhi Frontier to Peshawur, was described in the last report. In the present report, it is indeed hard to describe *how useful* the Telegraph has proved to the Punjab administration during the crisis of 1857! It may be truly said that, for months the Military and Political correspondence of the Punjab Government was carried on by Telegraphs. The orders on matters vitally affecting the public safety, were communicated by these means. Through the same medium, measures were concerted with the Commander of the Forces before Delhi. Frequently a hundred messages would be received and issued in the Chief Commissioner's Office during a single day. It were superfluous to mention the immense advantages which the Telegraph gave us over our enemies. Suffice it to note the instance at Lahore, when the authorities were warned by the Telegraph of the Delhi disaster, disarmed the sepoys before they could obtain information by post. If there had not been a Telegraph, an outbreak at Lahore might possibly not have been averted at that moment. Except in the Cis-Sutlej States, and once at Philor on the Sutlej, there has been no instance of the Telegraph wires being cut, even during the crisis.

71. The new line from Lahore to Mooltan and thence to Kurrachee is being rapidly prepared, and will, in a very few months, be available. Recent events have much increased the importance of this line.

New line from Lahore to Mooltan and Kurrachee.

72. The cost of working the Electric Telegraph lines in the Punjab has been :—

Cost of Punjab Telegraphs.

1856-7	1857-8
Rs. 43,653	Rs. 48,070
£4,365	£4,807

SECTION VII.

MARINE.

73. The only topic to be touched upon under this head, is the navigation of the Indus and its tributaries.

74. The Native boats on the Five Rivers and the nature of their traffic, were described in the last report. It was then shewn how up to the end of the year 1855-56 this trade was increasing fast. The great increase, indeed, which had occurred during the last few months of that period, warranted sanguine expectations. Accordingly, during the following year 1856-57, despite the deficient harvests and the prevalent sickness of that time, which are well known to have affected commercial and agricultural prosperity, the trade increased in a remarkable manner. Then, strange to say, during the next and memorable year of 1857-58, there was a still further increase (though slight) upon every quarter. During the first two quarters of that year, when Hindoostan was convulsed and the Punjab in danger, the traffic on the Indus was *greater than it had been during the corresponding period of any previous year.* The trade of the third quarter, when the crisis was just over, was the best that has ever been known on this river. This result is attributable to the abundant harvests which blessed a year otherwise so troubled, to the diversion of trade from the routes of Central India to the route of the Indus, and above all, to the maintenance of tranquillity in the Punjab and Sindh. The statistics of the trade for the three past years may be thus given :—

River Traffic in 1856-57.

In 1857-58.

Comparative results for three years.

	Boats.	Maunds.	Tons.
1855-56, (last report,) ...	2,771	8,53,444	30,480
1856-57, (present report),	3,340	10,71,907	38,282
1857-58, ditto, ...	3,548	11,79,495	42,125

75. In September 1856, a full report was submitted to the Supreme Government on the Navigation and Trade of the Punjab, with proposals for the furnishing of Steamers of small draught and great power to navigate the rivers up to the Northern Marts of the Punjab. The great events of 1857 have rendered this measure even more necessary than ever. It has now been learnt with deep satisfaction, that a private company will, by 1st January next 1859, be running steamers from Kurrachee to Mooltan, and even further North.

Indus Flotilla Steamers.

76. It was explained in the last report that the steamers of the Indus Flotilla, which ply from Kurrachee to Mooltan, are not well adapted to existing circumstances. But during 1857 they were indeed *essential to the existence of British rule in the Punjab.* When our intercourse with the rest of India was cut off, they were our sole means of communication with the Seaboard. They brought up our reinforcements of troops, our military stores, our treasure. They conveyed the greater part of three Regiments of European Infantry and one of Cavalry, some fifty laks of treasure (half a million sterling) and a vast quantity of baggage and ammunition.

SECTION VIII.

FINANCE.

Finances of the past two years.

77. The Financial result for the past two years may be thus exhibited, and for comparison, the figures of the year 1855-56 (shewn in the preceding Report) are also given. The statement refers to the whole territories, Punjab Proper, with Cis and Trans-Sutlej States :—

	1855-56.	1856-57.	1857-58.
Income Rupees, ...	2,01,26,935	2,03,77,789	2,05,30,710
£	2,012,693	2,037,779	2,053,071
Expenditure Rupees, ...	1,63,29,739	1,65,00,072	1,76,66,775
£	1,632,974	1,650,007	1,766,676
SurplusRupees, ...	37,97,196	38,77,717	28,63,953
£	379,719	387,772	286,395

It will be remembered that the expenditure includes charges for all Civil and Political Establishments, works of Public Improvements, the Defences of the Frontier (Peshawur Cantonment excepted), and Provincial Battalions: but *not* charges for Regular Army or construction of Cantonments.

Cost of new Punjab Troops in 1857.

78. During 1856-57, the finances remained much in the same position as in preceding years; the only difference being a diminution of expenditure in public works. The out-turn shewed a good surplus of 38¾ lakhs, or £387,772. During 1857-58, the crisis of affairs considerably affected the finances of course. There was an increase of 8 per cent on judicial charges for extra Police. On the other hand, there was a more than corresponding reduction in Public Works. In Military charges, the difference was great. Some 77 lakhs are charged this year, instead of 50 lakhs of the preceding years. In addition to the Punjab Irregular Force and Military Police shewn in former reports, numerous levies, horse and foot, were raised to preserve the peace; and many new Battalions were embodied to supply the place of the mutinied Sepoys and to enable the Punjab Government to reinforce the Army before Delhi. The pay of the Punjabee Troops serving beyond the limits of the Punjab and in the Delhi territory, have not been included. But still there remain extraordinary charges, which go far to absorb the usual surplus. It is to be observed that during the year of trouble, the income did not materially fall off. Whatever slight deficiency there was, has been explained in the Chapter on Revenue.

79. In the last report, it was shewn that the expenditure on Public Works amounted to 12 per cent. on Revenue of the whole territory, and 15 per cent. on that of Punjab Proper alone. That per-centage was calculated upon an average of seven years since annexation. During 1856-57, it stood at 16 per cent. to the whole territory, and 21 per cent. for Punjab Proper : for 1857-8, the per-centage was 11 and 16 respectively.

Expenditure on Public Works.

80. The above figures do not include the Punjab Loan and other special operations of Finance during 1857-58, which will be noticed presently.

81. Considerable additions having been lately made to the Punjab jurisdiction, this is the last occasion on which the finance of these Territories, as they have been heretofore constituted, will be noticed separately. It may therefore be well to bring to remembrance, that these Territories have been shewn during successive years to have yielded a not inconsiderable surplus. The only reason why that surplus has not been much greater is, the liberal expenditure which Government have devoted to Public Works.

Surplus of income over expenditure.

82. It will now be proper to advert briefly to the special measures of finance adopted during 1857-58. The troubles commencing in May, it be came evident by July, that ere long there would be a serious want of funds. On the one hand, the expenditure was becoming heavier than ever. A large body of disarmed sepoys would be receiving pay. The new Levies and Provincial Battalions would be expensive. The Army before Delhi (chiefly consisting of troops from the Punjab) would have to be maintained from the Punjab Treasuries, as little or no revenue could be collected from the Delhi territory. The sums despatched from the Punjab for the besieging army were very large, amounting to 20 lakhs of rupees, or £200,000. On the other hand, but little would be received beyond the ordinary revenue. Owing to closing of communication with Lower Provinces, and cessation of commercial intercourse, the Bill transactions, which usually brought a crore of rupees net balance of cash into the Punjab Treasuries during the year, would now yield next to nothing. The prospect of obtaining any cash remittance from Bombay was doubtful and remote. In

Financial position of the Punjab during the crisis.

this strait, then, it was resolved to keep all Civil Establishments, all disarmed troops, and all European Officers, in arrears of pay* for three months, till matters should improve, and to raise a loan, at six (6) per cent. interest, to be repayable after one year. An appeal was made to the Native Chiefs and Capitalists to subscribe to the loan. The Maharajah Goolab Singh, the Maharajah of Puttialla, the Rajahs of Jheend and Nabha, and many other Chiefs subscribed liberally. But the mercantile class, with some exceptions, were tardy and niggardly in subscribing, and thereby evinced an illiberal spirit, and a distrust of the stability of the Government. Between July 1857 and January 1858, however, about 41 lakhs were thus raised; the principal and interest of which are now being paid off to those subscribers who desire repayment. The Chiefs are, however, for the most part willing, that their money should continue invested in Government securities. During the autumn of 1857, welcome remittances of fifty lakhs in cash were received from Bombay by Steamers on the Indus. After the fall of Delhi in October, the revised administration was superintended from Lahore, and the collection of revenue in that territory commenced, and has since continued. By the spring of 1858, communications with the Lower Provinces being opened, Bills again began to be drawn, and thus some lakhs of Rupees flowed into the Treasuries. By the close of the year all arrears of pay (except those of the disarmed troops) were discharged.

Punjab six per cent. Loan.

Remittance of Pounds half a million from Bombay.

83. In round numbers, the financial operations of that remarkable year may be thus exhibited :—

Resumé of financial operations during 1857-58.

	Lakhs.
The income consisted of Cash Balance in hand in May 1857, ...	70
Revenues of Punjab Territories, ...	200
Raised by Loan, ...	41
Collected from Delhi Territory, ...	55
Received for Supply Bills, ...	20
Remittances from Bombay, ...	50
Total, about lakhs, ...	436

or about 4⅓ million £ sterling.

* At Peshawur, the disarmed troops have, since October last, been placed upon mere subsistence allowance.

	Lakhs.
The expenditure consisted of Punjab Civil and Political charges, ...	122
Military expenditure, ...	170
Despatched to Delhi during the siege, ...	20
Delhi administration,...	12
Cash Balance at close of year, ...	112
Total, lakhs, ...	436

or 4⅓ million £ sterling.

Some of the above figures are of course merely approximate, but they suffice on the whole to give a general idea of our financial operations. It will be observed that the cash balance at the close of the year is considerably larger than at the commencement. But a portion of that consists of sums deposited by the Prize Agency, and therefore will have to be disbursed to the troops that took Delhi.

Probable finances of Delhi Territory.

84. The transfer of the Delhi, Hissar and Sirsa Territories to the Punjab, will add from 75 to 80 lakhs to our total revenue, and make the aggregate up to nearly three crores, or three millions £ sterling per annum. The military charges of Delhi itself being very much less than the revenue, this territory will aid in defraying the cost of the large Regular Force, European and other, maintained in the Punjab. But one important source of income is at present uncertain, namely, the Supply Bills. Large sums are paid by parties into the Punjab Treasuries for Bills payable in Calcutta and in the Lower Provinces. In the same way Bills are drawn on the Punjab from below. But in ordinary years sums paid here for Bills, exceed those disbursed in discharge of Bills from below, by nearly a crore of Rupees; which sum may be therefore considered among our available assets; since 1857, however, these Bill transactions have not adequately revived, though it is hoped that they will revive as soon as commerce with Bengal shall have been restored. If they shall again reach their former figure, a crore per annum, then the receipts of the entire Territory between the Jumna and the Indus, about 3¾ crores or 3¾ million £, should be more than equal to the expenditure, which, all military

Financial prospects of whole Territory, including Punjab and Delhi.

and civil charges included, will not exceed 3¼* crores. If however the receipts from Supply Bills should diminish materially, then some aid in cash from below would be needed.

Offices of Account and Audit.

85. During the period under review, the Punjab Office of Account has been transferred from Agra to its proper place at Lahore. The unadjusted sums on the accounts of the Treasuries at the close of 1857-58 amounted to only 33 lakhs, a result which appears satisfactory when the troubles of the year and severe press of business resulting therefrom are considered. The Punjab Civil Auditor's office has also been transferred from Agra to Lahore.

SECTION IX.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

Church building during the past two years.

86. In the last report it was shewn that seventeen Churches had either been constructed or were under construction, at a cost of 3½ lakhs of Rupees or £35,000, with accommodation for about 8,000 persons. Of these churches, during the past two years progress has been made with the Umballa church, which is complete, with the exception of the tower. It is a fine structure of the decorated gothic style, and does great credit to the architectural taste of the Executive Engineer, Captain G. F. Atkinson. During the crisis the enclosure of the church was fortified, and the building itself was prepared as a rendezvous for European residents in the event of attack. No attack however was made, and the beautiful church has not been in any way defaced. The Churches at the Hill Sanataria of Dhurmsalla and Murree, and at the Jhelum station have been completed. The Peshawur church has been proceeded with; and the Mecean Meer church, a large structure in the early English style,

* *Note.*—Viz : 132 lakhs, Civil including Public Works.
192 lakhs, Military including European Troops and Commissariat —— and all Native Troops, Punjabee and others.
324 or 3¼ crores, for Punjab, Cis and Trans-Sutlej States, and Delhi Territory.

have been finished. The monumental church at Ferozepore was nearly destroyed during the mutiny of the Troops at that station. It is now being partially restored for temporary use, but probably it will be necessary to build a new church altogether. The fine church at Sealkote escaped serious injury when the troops broke out there. Cemeteries have been improved at many stations. Roman Catholic chapels have been extensively repaired. The returns of burials and Baptisms are kept up in the prescribed manner.

Destruction of Ferozepore Church.

87. The Staff of Chaplains remains as before, 17 for the whole Territory. But this Staff is hardly sufficient, now that additional stations for European troops are created. Umritsur and Mooltan are without Government Chaplains, the services there being performed by Missionaries. A Chaplain will also be needed for Attock and Campbellpore.

Staff of Chaplains.

88. During the early portion of 1857, the Lord Bishop of Madras visited these Territories, and consecrated the Churches and Cemeteries.

SECTION X.

POLITICAL.

89. On the north and the west, the Punjab is bounded by independent sovereign states, with whom we have intimate political relations. On the east our territories are intermingled with those of numerous chiefs and princes who exercise internal jurisdiction, but who are more or less under our control. At a time of public danger, the influence for good or for evil, which these native princes, sovereign and feudatory, might exercise over our millions of subjects, was unbounded; and the aid which they might render to the British Government in its difficulties was of high importance. To the lasting honor of these native princes be it said that throughout the crisis, they were so many towers of strength to the Punjab administration; that they set the right example to our own people; that they interposed a barrier against anarchy. While the balance of events was trembling, many and many a waverer looked to these princes, and seeing *them* loyal, threw his weight into our scale. The present section will touch

Influence of Native Chiefs.

briefly on our relations with each of these princes during the past two years.

90. The former report described the treaty of friendship entered into by the British Government with Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabul, on 30th March 1855. It was not long before the British Government had occasion to prove the sincerity of the friendship it had pledged. In 1856, the Shah of Persia, taking advantage of the rivalry between Barukzye and Suddozye princes for the sovereignty of Herat (the reigning Barukzye prince being of the Dost's family, and the hostile Suddozye being of the same family as the late Shah Soojah) sent an army against that city. At that juncture there rose an Afghan named Esau Khan, who gallantly and resolutely defended the city against the Persian Army. He sent Ambassadors to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, who was then in the Murree hills. But it seemed doubtful whether Esau Khan could hold out; and the Persians threatened Candahar, to which there was a direct road from Herat, and which was now occupied by the Dost himself as an integral portion of his dominions. The Dost besought the Government of India for assistance in money and arms. Accordingly five lakhs of treasure (£50,000) and four thousand muskets were sent to His Highness with all despatch. But Herat fell to the Persians in October 1856. The Government however signified its willingness to render further aid, and the Dost came down in person to Peshawur to meet the Chief Commissioner in January 1857. On the 16th of that month it was arranged that the British should pay the Dost a monthly subsidy of one lakh of Rupees (10,000£) to enable him to guard his frontier against the Persians, so long as such aid might appear to the British Government to be necessary; and that a mission, composed of three British officers, should reside at Candahar, while the subsidy lasted, to observe the course of affairs. From that time the subsidy has been regularly paid, and the mission, consisting of Major Lumsden, (Commandant of the Guide Corps,) his brother Lieutenant P. Lumsden (of the Quarter Master General's Department) and Doctor Bellew, have been treated with honor and distinction by the Heir Apparent, Gholam Hyder Khan, and the authorities at Candahar. In the meantime the British expedition to

Relations with Cabul.

Capture of Herat by the Persians.

British Mission to Candahar.

the Persian Gulf having reduced the Shah to terms, Herat was evacuated in July 1857; and a Barukzye Prince of the Dost's family now reigns there. The evacuation of Herat by Persia at a moment when intestine war was raging in Upper India, was most fortunate for our interests. That we had so befriended the Dost proved most providential, when the storm burst upon India. Throughout the crisis he resisted the evil counsels of chiefs who advised an attack upon Peshawur; he restrained the fanatical classes, who were electrified by the news of the Indian mutiny, and who talked of 20,000 Afghans pouring through the mountain passes on to the Punjab frontier. He sent letters, expressing with striking Oriental phrase his sympathy with our disasters, and his fidelity to our cause." Sirdar Gholam Hyder Khan, the Ameer's favourite, though not eldest son, and the declared Heir Apparent, who negotiated at Peshawur the treaty in 1855, recently died at Cabul in the prime of life on the 2nd July.

Conduct of Ameer Dost Mahomed.

91. It will now be proper to glance at the state of the frontier when on the 11th May 1857, the sad news from Meerut and Delhi was flashed by Telegraph on the same day up to Peshawur.

92. In Huzara, the spirit of the petty hill chiefs and of our powerful feudatory Jehandad of Umb, was excellent. On the Peshawur border, the Punjtar Chief was calling in the Hindoostanee fanatics of Sitana, who were sure to prove troublesome to us. The Afreedies of the Khyber were in disgrace for having recently murdered a British Officer, Lieut. Hand, of the 51st N. I., who had imprudently ventured too near the Hills. The Mohmunds, our old enemies, were under blockade. Swat, often the cause of much anxiety, was quiet. In Kohat, the Afreedies of the Pass were behaving well. On the Western border, a powerful expedition under Brigadier Chamberlain, accompanied by Colonel Edwardes, had chastised evil doers in Meeranzie, and had entered the Afghan district of the Toorees to exact retribution: the Ameer of Caubul having consented that we should ourselves redress the wrongs which our subjects had suffered from his. The same expedition had punished the Cabul Kheyl Wuzeeries. In Bunnoo district, most of the tribes were obedient to the yoke which

State of Punjab Frontier, 1857.

Expeditions against offending Tribes.

the lamented Nicholson had imposed upon them. One tribe, however, (the Muhsood Wuzeerees) had, during 1856, perpetrated an extraordinary number of raids. But just about this time, the beginning of 1857, they had almost ceased from offending. This was most fortunate. In the Derajat, the Bozdars had, during 1856, perpetrated many serious raids; and consequently a strong expedition, under Brigadier Chamberlain, had entered their Hills, and inflicted signal chastisement on the tribe. This occurred in March 1857, and thus a deterring example was made on this tribe just in the very nick of time. To the effects of this expedition may be chiefly attributed the forbearance of the tribes during the critical period which ensued.

State of the Frontier during the crisis.

93. It will now be seen that through the crisis of 1857, there may be recognized in the state of the frontier, the favoring hand of Providence. In Huzara the chiefs invariably behaved well. On the Peshawur border civil war broke out in Swat (the point whence danger was most to be apprehended) *on the same day* on which the Delhi outbreak occurred; some of our worst enemies were thus providentially paralysed. The fugitive mutineers of the 55th Native Infantry were expelled from Swat to perish miserably in their wanderings among the mountains. One tribe of Afreedies, then under blockade for previous offences, came into Peshawur and enlisted in our service. The murderers of Lieutenant Hand, (already mentioned) paid the fine demanded for his blood. A fanatic Syud, who came to preach war against the infidels, was driven away by the men of the Khyber Pass. The fanatic then went to our old enemies the Mohmunds, but they were pacified by Col. Edwardes.

Behaviour of independent tribes.

The Punjtar chief (already mentioned) tried to disturb the Eusufzye frontier, as might have been expected; but that attempt was put down by force. In the Kohat District, the famous Kohat pass, so often closed before, remained open uninterruptedly throughout the crisis! The Meeranzie people, awed by the late expedition, paid their revenue better than they had ever done before. The Caubul Kheyl Wuzeeries, smarting from recent chastisement, now for the first time behaved well. In Bunnoo district, the Muhsood Wuzeeries, who had recently begun to conduct themselves respectably, now continued to do so. The people of the neighbouring independent valley of Dour were torn by factions, but fortunately the strife

was composed during this very season. In the Lower Derajat, the peace was only once seriously disturbed. On that occasion, the Murrees (subjects of Khelat) committed a desperate raid. The assailants were about 500 strong, and all of them mounted; they carried off about 10,000 Rs. (1000£) worth of cattle, killed 38 men and wounded four. With this exception, however, the raids were, during the critical period, remarkably few all along the Derajat frontier, fewer indeed than during the corresponding period of previous years.

During raid by the Murrees.

94. Subsequently it was thought proper that the heavy scores of 1857 with the Punjtar chief, should be cleared off. So in April 1858, a powerful expedition of 779 Europeans and 4998 Natives, under Sir Sydney Cotton, accompanied by Colonel Edwardes, proceeded to Punjtar, burnt its several villages, and thence ascending Mount Mahabun (where probably no European had ever set foot before) destroyed a fort there. Then the force went against the Sitana fanatics, the allies of the Punjtar Chief, and the old enemies of the British. The Sitana villages were destroyed, and a number of the fanatics and their Hindoostanee retainers were slain. The place was then made over to two friendly tribes of the neighbourhood. Thus were scattered the successors of those desperate fanatics who, under Syud Ahmed, bade defiance to Runjeet Singh, and threatened to establish a Mahomedan kingdom in the Peshawur valley.

Expedition against Punjtar.

Destruction of Sitana.

95. It is now proper to record the services of the chiefs east of the Sutlej. On receipt of the tidings from Dehli, not a day was lost in calling upon the protected Seikh States for the contingents, which, as feudatories, they were by treaty bound to furnish to the paramount. Never was an appeal more nobly responded to. The Rajah of Jheend was actually *the first man*, European or Native, who took the field against the mutineers. He openly declared at once that he should side with the British, under whom he had lived happily for fifty years—a speech calculated to give the right turn to native opinion. He marched with a small but effective contingent of 800 men to Kurnaul; thence he went in the van clearing the road as the British force advanced upon Delhi, and procuring supplies. He then held an exposed post in the rear of the

Cis-Sutlej Chiefs.

Rajah of Jheend.

British camp; his Troops guarded the ferry over the Jumna on the road to Meerut; a portion of them also shared in the final assault on the Cashmere gate of the city. The Maharajah of Puttiala, the first man in the Cis-Sutlej States, and the highest in rank among living Sikhs, supplied 5000 men, horse and foot, occupied the Grand Trunk Road, the line of communication between the Punjab and the Army before Delhi, for a distance of 120 miles, and guarded the stations of Thanesur and Umballa. The contingent of the young Rajah of Nabbah, 800 strong, occupied the fort of Loodiana and escorted the Siege Train from Philor. The petty Sikh Chiefs, 80 in number, with contingents aggregating 1,200 men, foot and horse, were immediately called out for the preservation of order. If any man's contingent was not called out, he would complain of it as a grievance, and beg to be employed. When the Nusseeree Battalion (Goorkhas) mutinied at Simla, the Chief of Sirmoor and the Rajah of Khylore furnished 500 men each to guard that station. All the other petty Hill Chiefs evinced the best spirit. The Rajah of Busahir alone remained lukewarm. In the Jullundur Doab, the Rajah of Kupoorthullah, of high rank among the Sikhs, furnished 2,000 men; these formed almost the only Native Troops employed in the Jullundur and Hooshearpore Districts after the Jullundur mutiny. This Chief has now marched with his contingent on service to Oude. The Mundee State, in the Kangra Hills, furnished a contingent of 200 men. The Rajah of Chumba supplied guards for the English ladies at the sanatarium of Dalhousie. The Buhawulpore Nuwab alone failed to do that which the British Government had a right to expect of him during such an emergency.

Maharajah of Puttiala.

Rajah of Nabbah.

Simla Hill Chiefs.

Rajah of Kupoorthullah.

96. The Maharajah Goolab Sing of Jummoo and Cashmere, who originally owed his position entirely to the British, furnished a contingent of 2,000 men for service before Delhi. Just as this force was about to leave, Goolab Sing died; but his son and successor, Maharajah Runbeer Sing, continued the same policy. The contingent started under political charge of Lieutenant Colonel R. Lawrence, appointed at the special request of the Maharajah. Arrived at Delhi, it took part in the attack on Kishengunj suburb on the 14th September. It guarded the British

Maharajah of Cashmere.

Camp while the Europeans were storming the city; it was largely employed in the re-occupation of the Delhi Territory. It has now returned with honor to Jummoo, and the Maharajah has accepted an honorary present of a lakh of rupees (10,000£) from the British Government; His Highness having paid all the expences of the Troops himself. The march of this contingent to Delhi was of importance, not only for the service it performed in the field, but also for the moral effect it produced at the very time when mutineers and various disaffected parties were looking to Jummoo for countenance and perhaps support. It was, by means of this contingent, shewn decisively that the Maharajah was on our side. The obsequies of Goolab Sing were performed at his capital in Cashmere; his ashes have been consigned to the waters of the Ganges at Hurdwar. It is satisfactory to add that *none* of his ladies were sacrificed by Suttee.

Jummoo Contingent at Delhi.

97. This section may close with the mention of two men, famous in Sikh History, who have been removed by death within the period under report. Rajah Deena Nath (by birth a Cashmeree Brahmin) who was long at the head of Maharajah Runjeet Sing's Exchequer, died at Lahore on the 27th April 1857. Rajah Shere Sing Atareewalla, the Rebel Sikh General during the second Punjab war, who commanded at the battles of Ramnuggur, Chillianwallah and Goojrat, died at Benares on the 2nd April 1858.

Obituary of certain Punjab Chiefs.

SECTION XI.

MILITARY.

98. Heretofore this Section of these Reports has dealt almost exclusively with the Punjab Irregular Force and the Military Police. On the present occasion indeed there is much to be recorded to the infinite honour of both. But during the last year, events in the Punjab, connected with the Regular Army, have been so remarkable, and have so vitally affected every branch of the Administration, that they also claim notice in the present Report. During this period indeed a large share of the energy and attention of the Adminis-

Paramount importance of Military affairs during the past year.

tration has been devoted to co-operating with the Military Authorities for the public safety. On the arrival of the news from Delhi, the Senior General Officer assumed the command of the troops in the Punjab, in immediate communication with the Civil Government. It will therefore be proper to note very briefly the stirring events which occurred in the Punjab; the aid rendered in the recapture of Delhi, and the part which the Punjabee troops played in these great affairs.

European and Native Troops in the Punjab.

99. In the first place, it is necessary to consider our Military position when the Meerut and Delhi disasters were telegraphed to the principal stations in the Punjab. There were then in the Punjab Territories from Kurnal to Peshawur about 36,000 Native Troops of all arms, Infantry, Regular and Irregular Cavalry, and Artillery. These were all men from Oude and Hindoostan, except a fraction, who were Punjabees. Against these there were 11 Regiments of European Infantry, and one of Cavalry, and some 2,000 European Artillery. The European Force may have numbered 10,500 men. Of this force half was massed at the extremes of the province, viz: 3 Regiments at the Simla Hills and 3 at Peshawur valley. Of the principal Fortresses, that of Lahore was held by some European Infantry; those of Govindgurh (Umritsur) and Mooltan were held by one Company of European Artillery each; while those of Philore on the Sutlej, Attock on the Indus, Kangra and Noorpoor, were held by Native Troops. Our chief arsenal, that of Ferozepore, was at a station held by European Infantry. The second arsenal was at Philore, held by Native Infantry. Our Frontier, 800 miles in length, bordering throughout upon fierce and independent tribes, was held in strength at one point, and that the most important, namely Peshawur; but the greater part was occupied by about 10,000 Irregular troops, Cavalry and Infantry, of the best possible description. There were also some 9,000 Military Police, horse and foot. Thus the aggregate of Punjabee troops was about 22,000 men; these were for the most part Natives of the Punjab, a portion something less than one-fourth were Hindoostanees. Immediately after the outbreak, three Regiments of European Infantry and one of Cavalry marched away from the Punjab for Delhi, while the Punjab was relieved of only two Native Infantry Corps. So that if the Umballa Force be deducted, there

Punjabee Troops.

were about 7,500 Europeans to 33,000 Hindoostanee soldiers, or 1 to 4½. In the event of collision, however, the assistance of a portion of the Punjabee troops might always be counted on. The circumstances of difficulty were therefore considerable. The European Force was limited. There was a large section, nearly one-third, of the mutinous Bengal Army to be either encouraged in their duty, or overawed, or coerced as the case might be. There were martial and fanatical tribes along the Frontier to be kept at arm's length. There were numerous Native Princes to be held firm to their allegiance. There was a large population, exposed to evil influence from the proximity of the seat of rebellion, to be maintained in subjection. And beyond all this, there were powerful reinforcements from time to time to be despatched to Delhi.

Difficulties of the crisis.

100. It immediately became evident that the Hindoostanee troops in the Punjab wanted nothing but means and opportunity, in order to rival in iniquity their comrades in Hindoostan. Mutiny was not indeed universal, but the monster reared its head at various times and places, as will be thus seen. On the 14th of May the greater portion of the 45th and 57th N. I. mutinied at Ferozepore. An attempt was made to seize the great arsenal. Most of the mutineers escaped. On the 21st of the same month, at Murdan near Peshawur, the 55th mutinied on seeing an European force approach to take their arms, and fled, hotly pursued to the Hills. These were nearly all destroyed. On the 7th and 8th of June, the 6th Light Cavalry, the 36th N I., 61st and 3rd N. I., mutinied in the Jullunder Doab, and escaped to Delhi. At Jhelum, on the 7th July, the bulk of the 14th N. I. broke out on seeing European Infantry approach their lines. These were nearly all destroyed or captured. At Sealkote, on the 9th July, a wing of 9th Light Cavalry and 46th N. I. mutinied and committed some murders. They were intercepted and nearly all destroyed. On the 30th July, the disarmed 26th N. I. fled from Lahore, having murdered their Commanding Officer. They also were intercepted and destroyed. At Ferozepore, on August 19th, the 10th Light Cavalry mutinied and escaped. At Peshawur, on the 28th August, the 51st N. I., though disarmed, mutinied desperately. They were all destroyed. It will be seen then that in a majority of cases, mutiny was resolutely met and sternly avenged. Out of eight instances above mentioned, in five

Mutinies in the Punjab.

the mutineers were beaten and destroyed: while in three only they escaped. In one instance only was there any thing approaching to a massacre of Europeans.

Disarmings.

101. Furthermore, much was done to prevent mutiny, by disarming the Hindoostanee Regiments; the 8th Light Cavalry, the 16th, 26th and 49th N. I., were disarmed at Lahore on the 13th May; the 5th Light Cavalry, the 51st, 24th and 27th N. I. at Peshawur, on the 22nd May; the 10th Irregular Cavalry at Nowshera, on the 26th of the same month; the 62nd and 69th N. I. at Mooltan, on the 10th June; the 5th N. I. at Umballah, on the 15th June; the 33rd and 35th N. I. in the Jullunder Doab, on the 25th June; the 58th and part of the 14th N. I. at Rawul Pindee, on the 7th July; 259 of the 4th Light Cavalry at Umballah, on the 15th July; the 59th N. I. at Umritsur, on the 8th July; the 4th N. I. at Hooshyarpoor and Noorpoor, on the 12th July; the 39th N. I. in the Derajat, on the 14th July. The Native Gunners of 4 Troops or Batteries of Artillery were removed from their Guns, and their place supplied by volunteers from European Infantry. Thus 18 Regiments, Cavalry and Infantry, numbering about 13,000 men, were disarmed in all cases without resistance. This large body of men is still in the Punjab at different stations, strictly watched. They have sadly shackled our movements during the crisis. They are still a source of some anxiety.

Faithful Troops.

102. Besides the above, there are the Khelat-i-Ghilzye Regiment, and the 21st Regiment of N. I., and seven* corps of Irregular Cavalry still armed and doing duty. In all, these men may number upwards of 5000. They have of course remained submissive to duty, and some of them have behaved well. Among them the 1st Irregular Cavalry distinguished itself in the disarming at Mooltan. The Khelat-i-Ghilzye Regiment in Peshawur valley remained faithful, and thereby rendered important service. The 21st N. I. also remained firm; a portion of the 21st N. I. took part in a recent expedition on the Peshawur Frontier. One troop (Major Smyth's) of Horse Artillery at Hoshyarpoor gave intelligence of the designs of the mutineers, and was then ordered to Delhi, where it behaved in an exemplary manner.

* Viz. the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 7th, 16th, 17th and 18th Regts.

Securing of Forts.

103. The securing of the Forts was among the first cares of the Punjab authorities. Within two days after the Delhi disaster, European Infantry was thrown in-

to the Forts of Govindgurh (Umritsur) and Philore, and within a few more days into that of Attock. The Fortress of Mooltan was shortly afterwards garrisoned by the 1st European Fusiliers from Bombay. A suitable number of Europeans were placed in the Hill Fort of Kangra. In the Noorpoor Fort it has not been thought necessary to place Europeans. The various Frontier Forts (except that of Peshawur) are still held by the Punjab Irregulars. With these exceptions, however, all the Punjab forts, arsenals, and magazines, and principal treasuries are now held by Europeans; and are efficiently provisioned against a siege.

Despatch of troops to Delhi.

104. The reinforcing of the British force before Delhi was an object of paramount importance with the Punjab Authorities. The first body of troops detached from the Punjab territories was that which accompanied the late General Anson, namely, 1st and 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers and H. M.'s 75th Foot. These were speedily followed by a Siege Train from Philore. Then a wing of H. M.'s 8th Foot, a wing of H. M.'s 61st Foot, the well known Guide Corps, the 4th Sikhs, the 1st Punjab Infantry, the 1st Punjab Cavalry, and parts of the 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry were despatched to Delhi. Some 300 Artillerymen of the old Sikh army were enlisted for our service. A Sapper and Miner Corps of low caste Sikhs, 1,200 strong, and a body of Punjab horsemen were raised and sent to the same destination. It was arranged that the Contingents of the Maharajah of Puttiala, the Rajahs of Jheend and Nabbah, in all 7,000 men, should co-operate, which they did most satisfactorily. An Irregular force of about 1,000 men, under General Van Cortlandt, was ordered to clear the western part of the Delhi Territory. Waggon Trains were organized from Mooltan to Lahore and Ferozepore, and thence to Loodianah, Umballa and Delhi, to convey men, stores and materiel for the besieging force. But at a later date in August, one last effort had to be made to send reinforcements. At that time British power even in the Punjab rested on a slender basis. There were fierce tribes watching like wild beasts for a chance to spring upon us. There was a large population, faithful indeed as yet, but observing events with strained attention, and speculating whether we should or should not be able to hold our own. There were 6,000 armed Hindoostanee troops. There were 12,000 disarmed sepoys. There were but seven weak Regiments of European Infantry, and less than 1,000 European Artillery, in all about 6,200

Critical time in the Punjab.

men. But of these nearly half were locked up in Peshawur valley, and considerably prostrated by fever. The remainder were occupied chiefly in guarding the disarmed sepoys. The only European troops not thus engaged were the remainder of H. M.'s 8th and 61st at Jullunder and Ferozepore, and H. M.'s 52nd in the Moveable Column at Umritsur. If these should go, there would then be no European reserve whatever in the Punjab, and every station would be reduced to the very minimum of efficient strength. But still such was the paramount necessity of reinforcing Delhi, that even the last available Europeans were all sent under Brigadier General Nicholson. At the same time there were despatched the 2nd, 4th and 7th Regiments of Punjab Infantry. These were followed by a first class Siege Train from Ferozepore, by a Wing of the 1st Belooch Battalion arrived from Sindh, and a Contingent, 2,000 strong, from the Maharajah of Jummoo. There then remained some 4,500 Europeans (sick included) to hold the Punjab.

Final reinforcements for Delhi.

105. When these reinforcements had started for Delhi, the die was finally cast. The supreme effort had been made ; the cup had been drained to its last drop ; the chord had been strained almost to breaking. These images do not more than convey an idea of the crisis. If Delhi were taken, the successful course of the Punjab Administration would remain uninterrupted. If with the last aid, Delhi were not taken, and that speedily, there would then be a struggle, not only for European dominion, but even for European existence within the Punjab itself. To show how near the danger had approached, it may be mentioned here that during the last month of the siege, there was an attempted conspiracy in the Murree Hills, occupied by Mahomedan tribes ; and an insurrection in the Googaira District, thinly peopled, chiefly by Mahomedan tribes also, between Lahore and Mooltan, which was put down in about 20 days by some 1,500 troops of various kinds, of whom 150 were Europeans. The conspiracy in the Murree Hills might easily have spread to the Rawul Pindee District. The Googaira movement was sympathized in by the kindred tribes of the Jhung and Shahpoor Districts, who were known indeed to be ready for rising. But these affairs, originating with Mahomedans, were simply attempts to throw off British yoke, made in the belief that our last hour was come. There was no grievance, nor special

Partial emeutes in the Punjab.

cause whatever. From these two lessons we may learn what would have happened throughout the Punjab, if Delhi had not fallen.

106. It will now be proper to report the measures that were taken in respect to the Punjabee troops.

107. In May 1857, the Punjabee troops were as follows:—

Artillery.

3 Light Field Batteries, and a Mountain Train, (30 guns)	542
6 Regiments Punjab Infantry,...	5,565
4 Regiments Sikh Infantry, ...	3,640
5 Regiments Punjab Cavalry, ...	2,960
Guides, Cavalry, ...	294
Ditto, Infantry, ...	550

Military Police.

7 Battalions, ...	6,534
27 Troops, ...	2,700

Augmentation of Punjab troops.

There were thus 18 Battalions of Punjabee Infantry at the time of the outbreak. Immediately afterwards four Companies were added to each of these to form the nucleus of new Battalions. These fresh corps were rapidly formed, five in May and June, eight in August, two in October, and three in subsequent months, in all eighteen. Levies were also raised in all the Districts to do the military duties of the province, numbering eventually 7,000 horse and about 9,000 foot. Of the Horse Levies, the best were those border Pathans who had formerly fought under Colonel Edwardes in the second Punjab war, and who longed for another opportunity to signalize themselves in our service. As regards the Sikhs of the Manjha, they shewed during the period of the crisis an unwillingness to enlist. The good recruits of this class were not obtained until *after* Delhi had fallen. This fact is significant of the opinion which the Sikhs entertained of our position.

Aggregate of old and new Punjab troops.

108. In taking these measures however, the Punjab authorities strove not to raise a man more than might be absolutely needed for the public safety. It was not desirable to allow a preponderance of physical force either to Punjabees or to any other class. The aggregate

of Punjabee troops as they were on the 1st of May 1858, amounted to,

Old Force, ...	24,815
New Force, ...	34,000
Total, ...	58,815

Of these however, the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 22nd, 24th Punjab Infantry, and 1st, 2nd and squadron of 5th Punjab Cavalry, 1st and 3rd Sikh Irregular Cavalry, and other Irregular Cavalry Levies, numbering upwards of 1,700 sabres, in all amounting to 12,000 men, were, on the 1st May 1858, employed in Hindoostan, Oude and other places out of the Punjab territories, (including Delhi). This large force, though Punjabee, that is, formed of natives of the several provinces pertaining to the Punjab, yet comprise within itself great varieties of race, religion, customs and language. These many elements are kept together by British power. That removed, they would become separate and even antagonistic. Some of the men belong to the many Puthan and Belooch tribes, who dwell upon our extensive frontier. Some are Mahomedans of the Southern and Western Punjab. Some are Hill men. Some are Hindoos of the Punjab. Some are regular Hindoostanees. And a fair proportion, about one-third, are the true Sikhs.

Punjab troops in Hindoostan and elsewhere.

109. Besides the above force, some thousands of Punjabees have been enlisted for the Police Battalions in the N. W. Provinces. Their numbers cannot be exactly known, as the recruiting was arranged by Officers sent up by Authorities of other Provinces, and no records were kept up here. Recently, however, under orders of the Supreme Government, some 5,000 foot and 3,000 horse have been or are being raised for Oude: and the Kuppoorthulla Contingent of 2,000 men has departed from the Jullunder Doab for the same destination. No recruiting now goes on in the Punjab, except under the special orders of Government. There is one well known Sikh Infantry Corps in Bengal.

Total strength of Punjabee troops.

110. If the troops serving in all parts of the Presidency be taken together, there must be at this moment upwards of 70,000 disciplined Punjabees under arms.

111. Besides the extraordinary war services, the Punjabee force, during the period under report, furnished troops for expeditions against the Bozdars in the Derajat, and against the people of Meeranzye, and the Toorees near Kohat. They also shared in a recent expedition against Punjtar and Sitana on the Peshawur Frontier. In the measures consequent on the conspiracy in the Murree Hills, and the emeute in Googaira, they behaved right well. They played an important part in the disarming of the sepoys at Mooltan.

Expeditions on the frontier.

112. In the first days of the crisis, the Military Police were guarding jails and police posts; but in many places they were at once transferred to cantonments for regular military duty. Thus, doing the work of the disarmed Hindoostanees, they were for the nonce our native army; and by their discipline, efficiency, and conduct they proved themselves worthy of the trust. In the interior of the country they were the right arm of the Civil Administration. In one instance only, at the time of the Sealkote mutiny, did a portion of them misbehave. On all other occasions their fidelity and military qualities were conspicuous. They were most useful in quelling the Googaira insurrection. It is fitting to add in the present place, that the large authority vested in Commanding Officers, and the magisterial powers exercised by them over their men, has had an important effect on the discipline of the Punjabee troops, both Irregular and Military Police.

Services of Military Police.

113. Here also the Anarkullee Volunteers and the Lahore Light Horse may be appropriately noticed. At the commencement of the crisis in May 1857, the European community of Anarkullee (the Civil station of Lahore,) consisting of clerks belonging to the various central offices, and other residents, volunteered to join a body of Infantry, upwards of a hundred strong, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel J. D. Macpherson. They remained embodied for about eight months. In August 1857, the Lahore Light Horse was formed, consisting of drummer boys of mutinied Infantry and Cavalry corps, and Eurasians, about 160 strong (*i. e.* two troops or one squadron,) mounted on Government horses of the mutinied Cavalry, and under command of Captain Snow. They were first employed in quelling the Googaira emeute, then they were despatched to Hin-

Anarkullee Volunteers and Lahore Light Horse.

doostan, and have served with credit at Lucknow, in Rohilcund and Allahabad.

General character and conduct of Punjab Troops.

114. But the special services of the Punjabee troops in the present war in the N. W. Provinces, during the period under report, will form a page in the Military History of British India. It is not within the province of this report to relate how the Punjabees bore the privations, the fatigues, the perils of the ridge before Delhi, and shared in the final conflict within the city walls; how for long weary months they threw in their lot with the British besieged in the Lucknow Residency; how they were among the foremost in the storming of Lucknow city; how they behaved in the re-conquest of Rohilcund; how in the arid and thirsty jungles of Behar they gave noble and touching proofs of their devotion to Europeans. Their physique shews that they come of a hardy and warlike stock. Their discipline shews that, though encouraged and well treated, they have never been pampered or spoilt, that they have been taught to be obedient in all things, and that they have been inured to hard work of every description. In our service they have endured not only all the fatigues and privations incident to war, but they have also borne severe moral temptations. They have cared neither for the flattery, nor the threats of our enemies, nor for the taunts of the disaffected, nor for the bribes of traitors. They have never mistrusted our intentions, though they saw the whole Bengal Army the prey of jealousy and suspicion. When the political horizon was darkened all round, they never doubted our present power and ultimate success; and they stood by us throughout; such without exaggeration has been the conduct of the Punjabee troops. It is now for the British authorities to see that they are kept straight in their present path; that they are not tempted more than they can bear, and that no mismanagement shall alienate their fidelity.

115. For the condition in which the Punjab Forces have been maintained, the Chief Commissioner's obligations are especially due to the Commander, Brigadier General Neville Chamberlain, whose high standard of military excellence and experience in the field have greatly conduced to the efficiency of the Force. Praise is also due to the following Officers, who have served with the Punjab Troops within the period under report.

ARTILLERY, PUNJAB.

Captain J. R. Sladen, No. 1 Punjab Light Field Battery.
Captain G. Maister, No. 2 Punjab Light Field Battery.
Captain R. Mecham, No. 3 Punjab Light Field Battery.
Lieutenant T. E. Hughes, No. 3 Punjab Light Field Battery.
Lieutenant F. R. Butt, Commanding Huzara Mountain Train Artillery.

CAVALRY, PUNJAB.

Lieutenant W. T. Hughes, Commanding 1st Regiment Punjab Cavalry.

Captain S. J. Browne, Commanding 2d Regiment Punjab Cavalry.

Lieutenant C. J. Nicholson, 2nd in Command.

Captain C. R. Fraser, Commanding 4th Regiment Punjab Cavalry, (on leave).

Captain W. H. Paget, officiating ditto.

GUIDES.

Major H. B. Lumsden, who has been employed in the Political Mission to Kandahar.

Major H. Daly, C. B., who commanded the corps during its memorable service before Delhi.

NEW SIKH CAVALRY CORPS.

Major D. M. Probyn, 1st, who commanded his Corps before Delhie.

Lieutenant G. G. Pearse, 3d.
Lieutenant J. Watson, 4th.

MOOLTANEE REGIMENT OF CAVALRY.

Captain C. Cureton.
Lieutenant J. B. Lind, Commanding Mooltanee Horse.

PUNJAB INFANTRY.

Lieutenant Colonel John Coke, C. B., who commanded his distinguished Corps, (the 1st Punjab Infantry,) before Delhi, and in Rohilkhund. He was twice wounded before Delhie.

Lieutenant Colonel G. W. G. Green, 2d Regiment Punjab Infantry.

Captain B. Henderson, 3d Regiment Punjab Infantry.

Major T. Wilde, 4th Regiment Punjab Infantry, who commanded his Corps before Delhie, and afterwards in the operations before Lucknow, where its services were conspicuous.

Major J. L. Vaughan, 5th Regiment Punjab Infantry, who did good service on the Peshawur Frontier.

SIKH INFANTRY.

Major G. Gordon, 1st Sikh Infantry.
Captain G. W. Harding, 2nd Sikh Infantry.
Captain R. Renny, 3rd Sikh Infantry.
Major O. E. Rothney, 4th Sikh Infantry.

116. Among the Captains of Police, the Chief Commissioner's thanks are more particularly due to Lieut.-Colonel R. C. Lawrence, to Captains, H. N. Millar, J. W. Younghusband, and R. N. Tronson. Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence was the first to discover the designs of the Sepoys at Lahore ; he commanded afterwards the Jummoo Contingent before Delhie, and assumed charge of the Jhujjer Territory. Captain Millar was severely wounded when aiding in disarming the Sepoys at Rawul Pindee. Captain Younghusband did good service in disarming the wing of the 4th N. I. at Kangra.

SECTION XII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

117. This chapter chiefly relates to general improvements, for the prosecution of which the recent disturbed period has not been favorable, the time of our Officers having been devoted to matters of more immediate urgency.

POPULATION.

New census effected.

118. Since the complete census described in the last report, nothing further has been done in this line. Hereafter, as leisure shall permit, a fresh census can be taken to test the increase of the population.

EMIGRATION.

Punjabees serving abroad in the Army.

119. There is nothing to report under this head. The Punjabees are never likely to emigrate. It may however be proper to observe that there has been lately a considerable exodus of Punjabees to recruit our armies; which, though it may lessen the number of labouring hands, will add to the resources of the province inasmuch as the soldiers serving abroad are constantly remitting money to their homes.

AGRICULTURE.

Sugar-cane, Indigo and Cotton.

Opium and Poppy.

120. There have been no particular products introduced or improved during the last two years. Generally cultivation has increased. Of the superior products, the growth of sugar-cane is being extended. Indigo and Cotton are increasing as may be seen from the augmented exports. The production of Opium in the plains of the Punjab is found to be very difficult, if indeed practicable at all; the poppy plant is grown to a certain extent, but only for making a decoction from the poppy heads. But opium cultivation flourishes in the Hills. The Government experiments in regard to flax and linseed were in themselves successful, but they have not realized the effect that was hoped for in encouraging the people to extend the culture by their own efforts. The production of linseed, to which a great impulse was given in 1854, by direct appeals from the local authorities, has fallen off.

FORESTS AND ARBORICULTURE.

Timber Agency.

Planting of Trees.

121. The rules for the conservation of Himalayan forests, mentioned in the last report, remain in force. In the Murree hills, however, the people took advantage of the critical aspect of affairs occasionally to break the forest regulations. The Timber Agency of Sealkote and Pangee has remained in operation during the two years, but its results have not been remarkable. Arboriculture, (mentioned in the former reports,) continues to be studied; hundreds and thousands of young trees are planted annually.

122. *Mining.*—The proceedings adopted under this head were noticed in the last report. Since 1856, nothing further has been done.

123. *Surveys.*—The interesting survey of Cashmere, mentioned in the last report, has been proceeded with during the last two years. The topographical survey of the lower Trans-Indus Frontier has been well advanced. The revenue surveys have progressed in the Mooltan district, and in the Sind Saugor (Indus) Doab. Some 16,378 square miles have been surveyed during the two years. No interruption was suffered during the critical year of 1857. This important survey is now nearly complete for all these territories.

Cashmere Survey.

Revenue Survey.

124. *Conservancy of cities* and minor *works of public utility.*—During 1856-57, the course of improvement in these respects was unremittingly pursued; the drains and streets and environs of cities were improved, especially in Mooltan, Umritsur, and Derah Ghazee Khan. Caravan seraees, wells, rest-places were constructed by individuals under the encouragement of the Government Officers; much progress was made with lowering the walls and filling up the fosse of Lahore city. During 1857-58, it became necessary, in the crisis, to prohibit the disbursement even of local funds, and thus the progress of improvement was unavoidably arrested for a time. That restrictiou has now however been removed.

Conservancy of Cities.

125. *Tea.*—The cultivation of this product is continued under Government auspices in the Kangra hills. The result of the annual Government sales of Tea for the year 1856-57 was as follows:—

Sale of Tea at Kangra.

Lbs. 5,664 sold for Co.'s Rs. 8,496, or £ 849–12-0, at an average rate of Rs. 1-8 or 3s. per pound. The produce of 1857–58 was made over to the Commissariat Department for the use of the European troops.

DISPENSARIES—VACCINATION.

126. During 1856, the number of applicants for relief at these institutions exceeded that of any previous year, and amounted to 1,03,123 persons, of whom 95,705 were out-door, and 7,418 in-door patients. One great cause of this excess was the prevalence of fever, small-pox and cholera, during a portion of the year. In 1857 there has been a slight falling off, the number of patients being 99,146. But the year was unusually healthy, and the attention of our officers was absorbed

Number of persons relieved at Dispensaries.

Progress of Vaccination.

by more pressing affairs during the crisis. In some Dispensaries of the Jhelum, Mooltan and Leia divisions, despite the troubles of the times, a better attendance than before was secured. Vaccination also was largely resorted to during 1856; but as the scourge of small-pox was greatly mitigated during 1857, the people, relieved from anxiety, thought less of precaution, and thus vaccination declined. Unfortunately also the virus from the Depot in the Simla hills had deteriorated, and thus the people naturally lost faith. Further arrangements have however been made to secure better virus in future, and a separate Superintendent of Vaccine in the Himalayas has been appointed.

Vaccine Depot in the Hills.

SECTION XIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF DELHI TERRITORY.

Extent of Delhi Territory.

127. The Delhi territory has been virtually administered, so far as any administration was possible, by the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, ever since the outbreak. In February of the present year, it was formally transferred by the Governor General to the Punjab Administration. The territory, as it now stands, contains 13,975 square miles, 2¾ millions of population, and will pay 75 or 80 lakhs (800,000£) per annum of revenue. In future reports its affairs will be embodied with those of the Punjab generally. But this could not well be done in the present report; and as the events in the newly transferred districts have been *sui generis*, it has been thought best on the present occasion to group them into one separate chapter.

Recapture of Delhi.

128. By the 20th September 1857, the city of Delhi was finally recaptured by the British. At that time the condition of the Delhi Territory, a vast tract extending from the Jumna to Sirsa on the Sutlej, was as follows:— In the Delhi district, the city people, especially the Mahomedans, had generally proved themselves rebels and traitors. The villages in the interior of the district, especially the Goojurs and Mahomedans, had for the most part risen. The Googaon district was no longer in our pos-

State of the Delhi district.

session. The feudatory chiefs, whom we had maintained in power and affluence since the beginning of the century, had either turned against us, or had incurred suspicion. The Nawab of Jhujjur, the Rajah of Bullubgurh, the Nawab of Furokhnugger, had sided with the rebels. The conduct of the Nawab of Dadree had been almost equally bad. The Nawab of Loharoo had done nothing for us. Such had been the behaviour of the chiefs round Delhi. To the westward, the Kurnal district having been constantly traversed by our troops, had remained in our possession. Mr. C. LeBas, the Judge, at the outbreak, having been driven from Delhi, maintained authority and administered affairs at Kurnal itself. In the Hurriana district (including Hissar and Hansi) and the Sirsa district, the native troops, chiefly composed of the Hurriana Light Infantry, had mutinied soon after the outbreak at Delhi; and all Europeans had been either slain or driven out as fugitives. Then the Goojur and the Mahomedan Sections of the population rose; while the Jats and Hindoos generally remained faithful. In the same manner the Rohtuck District had been lost to us. But a force of Punjab Levies, under General VanCortlandt, had crossed the Sutlej from the Punjab, and having been joined by Contingents from the Chiefs of Bikaneer and Puttiala, had fought several actions with the rebels, and had recovered to British rule, the Districts of Sirsa, Hissar, and Rohtuck.

Conduct of the Feudatory Chiefs.

State of Hurriana.

Re-occupation of the Districts.

129. Immediately after the re-capture of Delhi, forces consisting of European and Punjabee Troops, and Cashmeer Contingent, proceeded, some to occupy the Goorgaon District, and some to deal just vengeance to the rebel feudatories. The Chiefs of Jhujjur, Bullubgurh, Dadree, Furokhnugger, were either taken or surrendered themselves; their forts, treasure, and equipages were seized as prize for the troops; their lands were placed under attachment, but their families were treated with respect. On the 21st September, the King of Delhi, with his favourite wife and son, surrendered themselves to Major Hodson. At the same time several of the Delhi Princes, who had shared in the King's rebellion, were slain.

Rebel feudatories subdued.

130. A Military Commission was forthwith convened to try the principal Political Prisoners. The Chiefs of Jhujjur, Bullubgurh, Furokhnugger, were convicted and hung at Delhi; their moveable property has been declar-

Trial of the Rebel Chiefs.

ed prize; their territorial fiefs have been recommended to be confiscated to the British Government; their families have been either allowed to retain their own private property, or else have been pensioned. The Dadree Chief was, on account of extenuating circumstances, spared the ordeal of being tried for his life; but his territory has been recommended to be confiscated, and he himself is compelled to reside under surveillance at Lahore. The Loharoo Chief has been acquitted of active participation in the revolt. The Dadree Territory has been given to the faithful Rajah of Jheend; and a portion of the Jhujjur Territory, worth three lakhs per annum, has been granted to the Maharajah of Puttialla and the Rajah of Nabha, in reward for their services. As the ceded territory is situate far to the south, on a remote and troublesome frontier, it will prove convenient to place the above Chiefs as friendly Sikh powers among a turbulent Mahomedan population. The Ex-King of Delhi, after a solemn and lengthened trial, held in his own Hall of Audience, was convicted of rebellion against the British Government, and of being accessory to the slaughter of 49 Christians (chiefly females and children) within his Palace walls. This important case has been duly submitted to the Governor General.

Reward of faithful Sikh Chiefs.

Trial of Ex-King.

131. For some time the city of Delhi was placed under a Military Governor, but by the commencement of 1858, the Civil Authorities resumed their functions. As might have been expected, the number of persons who suffered death for crimes connected with the rebellion was very considerable. It is difficult to analyse all that may have been done during that period of excitement. Towards the end of February 1858, however, when the Chief Commissioner visited Delhi, he found that 1,400 Political prisoners were awaiting trial. He immediately organised a Judicial Commission composed of three Officers, two Civil and one Military, and invested them with the requisite powers (including those of life and death) to dispose of these cases. By May 1858, no less than 851 persons were disposed of by this Commission, of whom 41 were punished capitally, 173 imprisoned, 104 flogged and fined, 533 released on security or unconditionally. But as fresh arrests have been made from time to time, there were still 200 and upwards to be tried, and the Commission is still sitting. Commissions

Trial of Political offenders.

of two Officers each were appointed for the other districts also, but their work has been less onerous.

132. As regards the city itself, one European Regiment is accommodated in the Palace of the Moguls, and one in the Government College; the Sikh Corps in the great Mosque; the European Artillery in the Arabic College. The great Magazine is of course held by Europeans. The Treasury is within the citadel palace. The most important gates of the city are guarded by Europeans. The city walls and fosse are standing. The Church is restored for Divine worship. The houses of the city have not materially suffered. For some time after the re-capture it was deserted of its inhabitants like a city of the dead. At first the Hindoo inhabitants were gradually and cautiously re-admitted, and in March last, the privilege was extended to Mahomedans also. The Delhi townspeople have, in some measure, suffered the punishment which their rebellion deserved. The mass of them have lost nearly all their moveable property; they had to endure hunger, exposure, and every privation throughout the winter. They are now permitted to return, and the city is being gradually re-peopled. The population may now amount to one-fourth of its former numbers.

Condition of city of Delhi.

Many houses of rebels have been confiscated. On all other houses it is proposed to levy a cess. With the proceeds of those confiscations, cesses, and fines, it is proposed to establish a fund for the compensation of the Christian sufferers by the mutiny and outbreak at Delhi. Outside the city, the extensive suburbs of native mansions and gardens, and the old British Cantonment are in ruins, and will probably remain so.

Fines and Confiscations.

133. In January 1858, a general disarming of the people was ordered to be carried out after the same manner as in the Punjab. By April, some 2,25,000 stand of arms of all kinds were delivered up to the Police; and besides these there were taken at Delhi forty cart loads of arms, which were not enumerated. There can be but few arms now remaining in the Delhi Territory.

134. The principle that the value of property of Christians, or of the British Government, plundered, damaged, or destroyed, should be recovered from the villages or the individuals who did the mischief, is being enforced throughout the whole territory, excepting the

Recovery of value of plundered or damaged property.

Delhi District itself, and its extension to that District also has been recommended to the Supreme Government. Penal fines under the new Legislative enactment are being levied from the offending villages in all the Districts. Ultimately it is hoped that the sums levied from offenders will suffice to reimburse all the Christian sufferers in the Delhi territory.

Penal fines.

135. The Civil administration has been remodelled after the Punjab plan. The old Delhi Commissionership and Political Ageny and the Delhi Judgeship have been abolished. There are now two Commissionerships, namely, that of *Delhi*, comprising districts of Delhi, Kurnal and Goorgaon; and that of *Hissar*, comprising districts of Hissar, Rohtuck, Sirsa and Jhujjur. Instead of a Magistrate and Collector, there is now a Deputy Commissioner in each district, who exercises all fiscal, magisterial and judicial powers under the control of the Commissioner. Undivided authority in all Departments is thus centred in one officer.

Formation of Civil Administration.

136. A Military Police has been organised at the following strength:—

Military Police.

Cavalry, ...	1,456
Infantry, ...	2,560

Its cost is at the rate of Rs. 4,13,400, or £41,340 per annum.

137. The Civil Police machinery has been restored. A considerable number of reliable Policemen have been furnished from the Punjab. The patrolling of the Grand Trunk Road is carried on as before. By the addition of bastions and gateways, all Police stations and buildings have been rendered defensible.

Civil Police.

138. There has been no violent crime, no dacoitee, no open robbery, since the re-establishment of British authority. Indeed it is generally remarked that crime of all kinds is rarer than it ever was before. The idle and vicious classes seem to be stricken with terror after all that has happened.

Paucity of Crimes.

139. The Judicial Regulations have not been revived. The Civil Courts have been re-opened on the Punjab system and under its Code. A new staff of Officers have been appointed. Of the Native Judicial Officers of the former regime, some have been implicated in the

Civil Courts re-opened on Punjab system.

rebellion, and some have returned to the regulation provinces. The small cause (or Tulseelee) courts, as established in the Punjab, have been introduced into these Districts.

Land Revenue.

140. The land revenue has been collected partly for the instalments due when the disturbances broke out, and entirely for the instalments of the autumn harvest. The annual demand of former years stood at 36½ lakhs. 35 lakhs have been realised during the year for whole territory, including Jhujjur and other territory under attachment. The future schedule will, with the confiscated territory, shew a land tax of 45 lakhs. The assessment of the land tax fixed some time ago for 30 years is generally working well, except in certain parts of Hurriana, and many villages on the banks of the western Jumna Canal where the land suffers from saline efflorescence owing to percolation of the Canal water. In these latter villages reduction has been granted. The village records of landed rights were destroyed at most of the stations; but duplicates have been obtained from the village accountants, who, in most instances, kept these documents throughout the disturbances. The fidelity with which these valuable village papers were generally preserved, is highly satisfactory. The annual village papers are being filed for the current year.

Restoration of Fiscal Records.

Customs Receipts.

141. No time was lost in re-establishing the customs line; during the disturbed months, of course nothing was collected, but since the re-capture of Delhi, nearly 13 lakhs, two-thirds of the average annual yield (21 lakhs), were realised. For the last two months the receipts have exceeded those of the most prosperous years. This fact shews the revival of trade and indeed of general prosperity. The increase of the customs on saccharine produce is remarkable, the duty yielding nearly double the amount of former years. This is in part attributable to the diversion of trade towards this line by the disturbances in Hindoostan and Central India.

Revival of schools.

142. The Educational machinery has been re-organized, and the Director of Public Instruction reports, that the attendance of pupils at village schools and Government schools in the interior, has nearly reached its former average.

143. Rewards have been granted in land, in cash, in houses, in pensions, in honorary distinctions, to the faithful among our subjects. Among them the Nawab of Kurnaul was conspicuous. When treachery, fanaticism, and ferocity were but too generally directed against the Christian, there were yet found many natives, often of the humblest orders, who were kind to our fugitives, and who, sometimes at imminent risk to themselves, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, sheltered the houseless, and escorted the widow and orphan to a place of safety. Not one of these instances of fidelity has been knowingly overlooked.

Rewards to faithful natives.

144. It has not been practicable of course as yet to execute many public works except those required for Military purposes or for defence. The Military works at Delhi have been already alluded to, also the defensive additions to Civil Buildings. The Forts in the attached Territories have been repaired and are in occupation of our troops. Estimates for repairing the buildings of the cattle stud at Hissar have been prepared. The cattle of the stud itself were carried off by plunderers at the outbreak, but most of the animals have been recovered. The Grand Trunk Road has been kept throughout the disturbances. The Western Jumna Canal was preserved by the people without injury.

Public Works.

145. The total Revenue, including Land Tax, Customs, Excise, Stamps and Miscellaneous may be set down at 75 or perhaps 80 lakhs, or ¾ of million £ per annum. The cost of Civil Establishment at 15 lakhs; of Military Police at 4 lakhs; of regular troops, Europeans and others, at 12 lakhs; in all, 31 lakhs, or £310,000. It is evident then that the territory will yield a large surplus.

Finances of Delhi Territory.

146. Such are the results of the first six months of the Delhi administration. On the whole it may be said that there is peace in the Delhi territory. Since the close of 1857, there has been no disturbance of any kind. Of the agrestic population, a large proportion are predatory and turbulent by nature, but they appear now to know their masters, and behave accordingly. The perpetrators of the great crimes, which so terribly marked the outbreak, the ring-leaders of rebellion, and the worst characters, are and will be pursued to the

Present conduct of the people.

last. But towards the mass of the people, a mild though firm policy is adopted.

147. In the administration of this territory, the following Officers have been distinguished :—Mr. C. B. Saunders; General Van Cortlandt, C. B.; Lieutenant Colonel R. Lawrence; Messrs. W. Ford, P. Egerton, G. H. M. Ricketts, J. S. Campbell, C. J. H. Richardes. Mr. J. Oliver deserves special mention for the resolute stand he made at Fazilkee on the Sutlej, when the whole of his District, Bhuttiana, was in disturbance and confusion. Sir T. Metcalfe was with the British camp throughout the siege of Delhi, and accompanied the troops when the city was assaulted.

CONCLUSION.

General result of this Report.

148. The fourth Punjab Report is now concluded. We have seen how during a period of supreme trial, the internal peace of the province was preserved; how the administration was carried on without material interruption in any branch; how Troops, European and Native, with all the materiel and munitions of war, were furnished for the siege and capture of the rebel strong-hold in Hindoostan; and how a fresh force was rapidly raised to supply the place of the Army which had mutinied. But we have also seen how, in order to effect all this, the resources of the Punjaub were almost overtaxed; how the strain upon the administration had become almost greater than could be borne; and how at last symptoms were beginning to appear in the province itself, which, if unchecked, would have soon developed themselves into a disease spreading all over the land. It only remains to state very briefly the causes why the Punjab people remained quiet so long, why they began to rise partially at last, and why they would have risen generally if Delhi had not fallen.

Reasons why Punjab people remained quiet during the Crisis.

149. In the first place, the Punjabees had no sympathy with the mutiny which arose in the Hindoostanee troops, nor with the revolt which broke out in Hindoostan. In the days of their power, the Bengal Sepoys had borne themselves proudly towards the Punjabee soldiers, and the Hindoostanee officials had rendered themselves unpopular with the Punjab people. Moreover, the Punjabees had borne a grudge of

No sympathy with the Hindoostanees.

centuries against Delhi; and they believed that at last the Gooroo or Divine Prophet of the Sikhs would avenge the death of his warrior-priests, whom the Moghul Emperors had cruelly put to death. For some generations also, the Sikhs, always fond of plunder, had coveted the spoils of that imperial city. They were therefore predisposed to engage in the very service which the British Government at this juncture offered to them. The march to Delhi was indeed a popular expedition. The fiercer spirits were every where enrolled, and the very class most likely to create disturbance at home, was drained off to serve abroad. At that moment, British prestige was great in the eyes of Punjabees. The recollection of such victories as Sobraon and Goojerat was fresh in their minds. The fear of the British was still upon them. They saw that the mutinous sepoys were drawn up in front of guns to be disarmed, or driven away in flight, or slain, or hunted to death. Men judge by what they see, and the Punjabees concluded that such would be the fate of mutineers every where. They were quick enough to perceive the gravity of the crisis, but they thought we should surmount it; they knew that at all events their own country would be held for some time, and they sided with the power of the day. Then the people had been disarmed, and were becoming disused to warlike pursuits. At that season the harvest was abundant. Trade was flourishing; there happened to be a general comfort and prosperity; and there were no exciting grievances. There was no general desire for change; there was indeed a kind of passive satisfaction. There was no jealous sensitive prejudice, no tendency to mistrust the intentions of Government. There were no doubt classes who had suffered by our rule, but at that time they were not influential. Many chiefs, who might have become centres of disaffection, had been exiled, or had died off. There was no person actually residing in the Punjab who could become at the moment a popular leader, there were no means ready at hand for getting up any national movement. Most of the eminent men who remained, were benefited by our rule, and were unwilling to exchange it for anarchy, the terrors of which they vividly remembered. They openly took our part from the first, and many of them made such efforts as should entitle them to the gratitude of Englishmen.

Effects of British prestige.

General contentment.

150. From the combined operation of these causes, the Punjab people remained peaceful at home, and furnished soldiers who fought faithfully by our side through all trials. But as months wore on, they saw that our power in the Punjab was being wasted away, as troops were despatched for Hindoostan without any reinforcements arriving from Europe. They discovered too that it was going hard with us elsewhere in India. Incendiary letters came day after day, describing in highly figurative phrase the utter isolation of our position. These things sunk deep into their minds; they began to think (what they could hardly have believed at first) that the end of British rule was really approaching. Then latent embers of disaffection began to glow; people commenced as it were to make up their political book against the coming revolution; individuals thought of securing their own future position and influence, of conciliating those who would become formidable when the hand that ruled all alike should be removed; even our real well-wishers, our loyal agents, would take precautions for the safety of themselves and their families in the troubles which they feared were inevitable; dreams floated about, not perhaps of nationality, or of a restored Sikh commonwealth, but of the possible revival of separate parties like the original Sikh Missals; the idle and the vicious every where hoped for congenial excitement; chiefs, living idly in their country seats, thought once more of mixing in strife; in the Southern waste tracts men looked forward to resuming predatory habits; in the Northern hills they sighed for independence; and everywhere, and especially towards the Frontier, the Mahomedan fanatic discerned the good time coming, when a blow might be struck for the supremacy of his race and religion, and for the extirpation of the Infidel. The popular mind was indeed fast drifting into disaffection when two outbreaks actually did occur,—the first portents of a storm which would soon have gathered fast and swept over the Punjab. Both these movements did indeed originate with *Mahomedans*, and it did not appear that the Sikhs or Hindoos at all participated in them. But if the fall of Delhi had been delayed much longer, the Punjab people generally would have risen; the Mahomedans first—the Sikhs last; and the Punjabee Troops would have reached that limit beyond which mercenary soldiers will not and cannot remain faithful. They would stand

How Punjabees at last came to doubt our ultimate success.

Increase of popular excitement and mistrust.

Critical symptoms in the Punjab.

by us and risk their lives for us, while we could hold our own; when we could not do that, they would be forced to turn against us. But the moment that the Punjabees heard of the fall of Delhi, their doubts regarding the stability of our rule vanished, their respect for our prestige revived, and they became as good subjects as ever.

Effect of the recapture of Delhi.

151. The external behaviour of the mass of the Punjab people —and especially of the Sikhs—must be pronounced to have been good. No doubt, whatever immediate apprehension existed, was felt in regard to the Mahomedans rather than the Sikhs; near the frontier the Mahomedans are especially fickle, fanatical and proud. And the two disturbances which did actually occur were Mahomedan. But still the Mahomedans have supplied men for more than half our Army, and some of them the Pathans of Mooltan and Derajat are among the most zealous and reliable men we have. As regards the Sikhs, they certainly held aloof at first in regard to recruiting until Delhi fell. Since that time indeed, they have furnished excellent recruits without stint. Sikhism itself too, which previously had fallen off so much, would seem again to be slightly on the increase. During the last year the Baptismal initiations at the Umritsur Temple have been more numerous than during the preceding year. Sikhism is not dormant; but it must be in justice said that the Sikhs did *not* take advantage of the crisis to attempt the restoration of their nationality and their mystic commonwealth, and that from first to last they gave no sign against us. It is hard to read the hearts of the Punjab people; and it were vain from outwardly favourable symptoms to assume the existence of loyalty, which perhaps may never be felt by an Asiatic race towards European rulers. But they have as yet deserved well of the British; and on the whole, their conduct has been such as should render us more anxious than ever to secure their welfare. At the present time of writing, the general temper of the people is satisfactory. God grant that it may long continue so. The employment afforded to so many thousand hands by Military service; the large sums disbursed in the province itself on this account, and remitted to the Punjab in the shape of prize money, savings of pay, from other provinces by soldiers serving therein; the sense of having triumphed under our banners over the Hindoostanees; have given to our

Conduct of the Punjab people on the whole—good.

Present temper and disposition of the people.

rule a kind of popularity for the time in the eyes of the Punjabees.

General contentment and prosperity.

There is at this moment more wealth diffused among the people than at any period since annexation. They commonly remark that in the palmy days of Runjeet Sing there was scarcely more general prosperity than now. The Punjabees on the whole see that they are well off under us, and have a considerable idea of our power and resources. They also feel a strong, though perhaps a natural, pride at their achievements in our service since the outbreak of disturbances.

152. But in recounting the secondary human causes of the safety of the Punjab during the crisis, it should never for an instant be forgotten that the first cause was the mercy of providence. No doubt, humanly speaking, the Punjab possessed great advantages; it had a people rather favourably disposed than otherwise; a comparatively fair amount of European force, and a system in many respects calculated to weather storms. But as a protection against the peril of the time, all such advantages were as nothing without the support of the Everlasting Arm of Almighty God. To Him alone therefore be all the praise.

Fine conduct of Punjab officers during the crisis.

153. It is hoped that during the two years under report the officers employed in the Administration will be held to have persevered in the course which has heretofore met with the approval of the Supreme Government. During the last year of trouble they carried on the business of the country despite endless distractions. Besides this they performed a variety of Military and miscellaneous duties arising out of the emergencies of the time. They were ever active in the field. They were instant in business at any hour of the day or night. Often isolated, and surrounded with incipient difficulties, they held their own. Under all circumstances, they comported themselves with steadiness and vigour. It is not too much to say that the conduct of the British Officers during the crisis materially influenced the mind of the Punjab people.

154. The expression of the Chief Commissioner's obligations is firstly due to the Right Hon'ble the Governor General and the Supreme Government for that uniform support and confidence which have materially strengthened his hands in administering the affairs of the Punjab. To his Lordship in Council, the Chief Commissioner therefore tenders his best acknowledgments.

155. Among the excellent body of Officers who have served under him in Civil capacities during the two years, the Chief Commissioner especially commends the following:—

To the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. R. Montgomery, since appointed Chief Commissioner of Oude, the Chief Commissioner is under very special and deep obligations. That Officer, while discharging his own particular duties with that zeal and efficiency so often before commended, took an active and prominent part in the various measures necessary for the safety of the province. The Financial Commissioner, Mr. D. F. McLeod, also throughout the crisis afforded valuable assistance and advice. Mr. R. Temple, the Chief Commissioner's Secretary, was unavoidably absent in England on Medical Certificate, from close of 1856 to commencement of 1858, resuming his duties in February of the present year. The Chief Commissioner believes that this Officer's merits and good services are well known to the Supreme Government. During his absence his post was occupied first by Captain James, and subsequently by Mr. A. Brandreth and Lieutenant E. Paske. These three Officers creditably exerted themselves to the Chief Commissioner's satisfaction. Captain James very handsomely vacated his post in order, at a critical time, to take charge of the Peshawur District, and leave Brigadier General Nicholson free for Military duty.

The Chief Commissioner's Military Secretary, Lieutenant Col. J. D. Macpherson, deserves especial praise and notice for the zealous and hearty service he rendered, and the incessant labor he sustained from the commencement of the mutinies till he joined the Army Head Quarters as Officiating Quarter Master General.

156. Among the Commissioners of Divisions the Chief Commissioner's acknowledgments are firstly due to Lieut. Col. H. B. Edwardes, C. B., who during imminent danger maintained authority in the Peshawur valley, the post of honour and of difficulty; and to Mr. G. C. Barnes, who, though surrounded with difficulties, administered successfully the Cis-Sutlej Division (which immediately adjoined the disturbed Division of Hindoostan) and rendered important aid in the transport of troops, stores and treasure to Delhi. The Chief Commissioner also commends Mr. E. Thornton, who presided over the Jhelum Division; Mr. A. Roberts, who administered the important Division of Lahore throughout the crisis; Mr. G. Campbell; Lieutenant Colonel G. W. Hamilton; Major E. Lake.

157. This will be the fitting place to mention the name of Brigadier General John Nicholson, a name indeed which can never be forgotten in the Punjab. After having done much to establish British rule on the Derajat Frontier, he was at Peshawur when the troubles commenced. His presence there was valuable. Afterwards in command of the Moveable Column, he disarmed several mutinous regiments; he destroyed the Sealkote mutineers; he marched with the last reinforcements from the Punjab to Delhi; there he fought the decisive action at Nujjufgurh, and at last fell in the assault of the city itself. It is indeed difficult to describe in words the sense which the Chief Commissioner entertains of General Nicholson's merits and services.

158. Among the Deputy Commissioners, the Chief Commissioner recommends to notice—

Lieutenant Colonel S. A. Abbott,
Lieutenant Colonel J. Clarke. } Recently appointed Commissioners in Oude.

Major F. Marsden, who having retired from the service, was on the point of going home when the disturbances broke out, but then volunteered to serve on as Deputy Commissioner.

General Van Cortlandt, C. B., who was formerly of the Sikh service, and who during the disturbances commanded the Irregular Force in Hurriana and re-occupied that territory.

Captain H. R. James, who, during the greater portion of the period under review, officiated as Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, and then rendered good service in his own District of Peshawur.

Major J. R. Becher, whose efforts in preserving order in the Huzara District were conspicuous.

Captain Henderson, who kept the peace of the wild District of Kohat throughout the crisis.

Mr. G. H. Ricketts, who, with a small native force, opposed the mutineers from Jullundur, and ruled the Loodiana city and District during a critical period with eminent vigour and firmness.

Mr. F. Cooper, who held the important District of Umritsur, and with his police levies captured and destroyed the disarmed 26th N. I., who had fled in mutiny from Lahore.

Mr. T. D. Forsyth, who during the troubles held the difficult and important District of Umballa.

Major R. G. Taylor, Captain O. J. McL. Farrington, Major F. E. Voyle, Mr. G. Ouseley, Mr. H. Monckton, Mr. R. Egerton, Captain A. L. Bush, Captain J. Cracroft, Captain S. F. Graham, Captain H. W. H. Coxe, Captain W. McNeile, who held the partially disturbed Thanesur District during the crisis, Captain H. Mackenzie.

Settlement Officers.—Mr. J. H. Morris ; Mr. A. Brandreth.

159. Among the Assistant Commissioners, the Chief Commissioner commends in particular—

Lieut. G. Pearse, Lieutenant H. J. Hawes, Mr. F. Macnaghten, Capt. R. R. Adams, Mr. W. Macnabb, Lieut. G. Battye, Lieut. S. S. Boulderson, Capt. J. Fendall, Mr. W. Plowden, Mr. R. G. Thomas, Mr. B. Hardinge, Mr. D. Macnabb, Lieut. J. R. G. G. Short, Lieut. E. H. Paske, Capt. R. O. T. Nicolls, Lieut. J. E. B. Parsons, Lieut. Ross, Mr. S. Hogg, Lt. W. Paske, Lieut. C. Hall, Mr. R. F. Saunders, Mr. C. W. Aitchinson, Mr. H. Perkins, Mr. W. Jones, Mr. T. Thornton.

160. Among the Extra Assistants, the Chief Commissioner commends :

Messrs. W. Blyth, J. H. Penn, R. Berkeley, L. Berkeley, C. R. Crommelin, L. J. Cowan, G. Thomson, Bunsee Lall, Massoom Allie, Abdool Huq, Shahzada Jumboor, Hadee Hossain, Mitthun Lall, Sirdar Jodh Sing, Syud Ahmud Allie, Syud Kyam Allie, Madho Pershad, Mohumud Sooltan, Agha Kulubabid, Syud Jumal Allie, Jaeshee Ram, Azim Beg, Devi Ditta.

161. The following Officers also deserve commendation :—

Inspector of Prisons.—Dr. C. Hathaway.

Revenue Surveyors and Assistants.—Lieut. Colonel Shortrede, Captain G. H. Thompson, Lieut. F. C. Anderson, Captain H. C. Johnstone, Captain Sir E. Campbell.

Customs.—Messrs. H. Wright and W. W. Wright.

Account Dept.—Messrs. Christie and Raynor.

162. This report has been prepared under the directions of Sir John Lawrence, G. C. B., Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, by

R. TEMPLE,

Secretary.

FINANCE STATEMENT FOR THE PUNJAB TERRITORIES.

Revenue and Expenditure for the years 1856-57 *and* 1857-58.

Revenue.	1856-57.	1857-58.
Ordinary.		
Land Tax, ...	1,50,16,824	1,54,67,519
Excise and Stamps,..	30,30,703	27,51,231
Nuzurana, Tribute, &c.,..	5,58,265	4,20,257
Postal, &c., ...	3,46,230	3,18,938
Miscellaneous,..	3,47,917	4,75,519
Toshakhana, ...	8,101	99,758
Total Ordinary, ..	1,93,08,030	1,95,33,222
Extraordinary,..	19,495	5,220
Local Funds, ...	10,50,264	9,92,268
Grand Total, ...	2,03,77,789	2,05,30,710

Expenditure.	1856-57.	1857-58.
Ordinary.		
General, ...	5,96,231	6,04,207
Judicial, ...	21,32,322	22,99,947
Revenue, ...	15,74,013	14,85,729
Excise and Stamps, ...	3,05,661	3,15,084
Postal, &c.,..	14,89,637	15,24,856
Miscellaneous, ...	5,78,780	4,65,908
Military, ...	50,42,954	77,17,037
Toshakhana, ...	79,224	99,233
Total Ordinary, ..	1,17,98,822	1,45,12,001
Extraordinary.		
Settlement and Survey, ...	5,48,240	1,59,417
Public Works, ...	32,39,708	22,49,937
Miscellaneous, ...	20,010	36,431
Total Extraordinary, ..	38,07,958	24,45,785
Local Funds, ...	8,93,292	7,08,971
Grand Total, ..	1,65,00,072	1,76,66,757

COPY.
No. 2951.

From

G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General,

To

Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, G. C. B.,
Chief Commissioner, Punjab.

Allahabad, 27th August, 1858.

Sir,—I have received and laid before the Right Hon'ble the Governor General your Secretary's letter No. 181, dated the 30th ultimo, together with the general Administration Report of the Punjab Territories for 1856-57 and 1857-58, which accompanied it. Also the additional chapter showing the measures taken for the re-organization of the administration in the Delhi Territory; and in reply to communicate the following observations and orders.

Foreign Dept.

2. The Governor General has read the Report with great interest; it contains a record of successful administration under difficulties of extraordinary magnitude; and His Lordship is of opinion that the results which have been achieved, reflect the highest honor on you, and the Officers by whom you were ably and zealously assisted.

3. Notwithstanding that the European Troops of the Province were at one time reduced to a number quite unequal to the duties which pressed upon them, every available man having been sent forward to reinforce the army before Delhi, notwithstanding that the excitement and alarm arising out of the events that were passing in Hindoostan extended in some degree to the people of the Punjab, yet general tranquillity was maintained; crimes of violence were so promptly and vigorously dealt with, that there was no sensible increase in their number; the business of the Civil Courts continued to be carried on without interruption; and the revenue of the province was realized with the same punctuality as in times of undisturbed peace and prosperity.

4. There were but two exceptions to the general tranquillity of the Punjab; one the insurrection of the pastoral tribes in Googaira, the other the rebellious movement of some Mahomedan tribes in the

Murree Hills ; both cases were met with the promptitude and vigor which have distinguished the Punjab administration throughout the crisis, and were speedily suppressed.

5. It is superfluous to advert to the wisdom and energy with which you addressed yourself to the reinforcement of the army before Delhi ; these have become historical facts ; they have, moreover, been placed before His Lordship in fuller detail, in a separate report, and will be more appropriately noticed in replying to it.

6. In conclusion, I am desired to express His Lordship's grateful sense of the important services rendered by yourself and the Officers named by you. For the wisdom which prompted, and the energy which carried into execution, the measures under review, His Lordship is of opinion that the thanks of Government are eminently due.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. F. EDMONSTONE,
Secy. to the Govt. of India,
with the Governor General.

Allahabad,
27th August, 1858.

(True Copy.)

W. KIRKE,
Superintendent.